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DECADENT AMUSEMENTS:
ISLAMIC REVIVAL ARCHITECTURE IN AMERICAN
LEISURE PLACES, 1871-1929

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Submitted to the faculty of the University Graduate School
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree
Master of Arts
in the Department of History,
Indiana University

August 1993



Accepted by the Graduate Faculty, Indiana University,
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts.

For my father
Russell is my father
who started me

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8 June 1993

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I believe it was Paddy Chayefsky who once said, "a simple thank you will suffice." We obviously did not have to research this thesis. Therefore, my thanks must go to the following people and institutions for their assistance and consideration: Catherine Hamilton, and the staff of the Curt Teich Archives, Lake County Museum, Wauconda, Illinois; the Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, Indiana; the Brooklyn Historical Society, New York; the Atlanta Historical Society, Georgia; and the diligent staff at the Rutherford B. Hayes Library, Fremont, Ohio. Special thanks to the members of my thesis committee, the

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and beyond the call of duty on my behalf; Robert G. Barrows; and Rowena for seventeen years of faith and encouragement. Additional thanks to my family and friends who made a living hell simply because misery loves company: my mother June B. Martin for her continued support (emotional and financial); Debra (in for the long haul) Dawson, who offered inspiration and unwavering faith in my work; Jim Trulock and the helpful support of "the group"; Carl Cooper, the "Martyr of Martin Madness" for his contributions; and Susan Wooden, editor supreme, for the late nights of manuscript perusal and general morale boosting.

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of *One Thousand and One Nights*, in 1860, and peaked at the end of the nineteenth century, largely due to the translation of *The Arabian Nights* by Sir Richard Burton. The interest in the Orient continued into the twentieth century with the works of Rudyard Kipling.¹ In the minds of many Westerners, the Orient, in the words of English Professor Edward Said, became associated with "romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes and remarkable experiences."²

Part of the American Victorian fascination with the Orient stemmed from the perception that values of Orientals ran counter to highly esteemed Victorian values of self-denial and self-control.³ The Orient, to Victorians, represented wantonness and self-indulgence, values Victorians were attracted to, yet found dangerous. However, seeking to capture what Jackson Lears calls "the intense experience" of other cultures, American cultural vanguards sought to place its version of the Orient in proper context.⁴

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INTRODUCTION

The American people's fascination with the Orient began soon after Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798. Interest increased with Edward Fitzgerald's, Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam, in 1860, and peaked at the end of the nineteenth century, largely due to the translation of the Arabian Nights by Sir Richard Burton. The interest in the Orient continued into the twentieth century with the works of Rudyard Kipling.¹ In the minds of many Westerners, the Orient, in the words of English Professor Edward Said, became associated with "romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes and remarkable experiences."²

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The context was places of play. Self-indulgence, considered quite inappropriate in work life, became more acceptable in leisure life. One means bourgeois Victorians chose to separate formal behavior from

informal behavior occurred in architecture. More specifically, the use of Islamic architecture provided a cultural form for separating places of amusement from other arenas. Given its association with the exotic, cultural arbiters and wily entrepreneurs chose an adapted Islamic style called "Islamic Revival" both to separate and highlight the location of freer behavior. In short, when one saw the Islamic Revival style, it almost always indicated a place of amusement with attendant liberated atmosphere.

During the years 1871 to 1929, America moved from a producer culture to a consumer culture, from a culture of self-denial to one of self-fulfillment, from delayed gratification toward greater instant gratification.⁵ Throughout this dramatic change from the Victorian Era to the Modern Era, the sight of Islamic Revival style buildings stayed remarkably consistent, as it indicated those places of entertainment and amusement and continued to be linked to images of the exotic and erotic. It is this remarkable consistency that this paper addresses. It is my contention that the adapted Islamic style, Islamic Revival, was continually used to separate play behavior from work behavior throughout this fifty-year period of upheaval and change, and that the association of Islamic Revival architecture with opulence and decadence never wavered.⁶

The paper is divided into the following time periods: 1871-1893; 1893-1903; 1903-1917; 1918-1929. The second chapter concentrates primarily on the pivotal year of 1893, the year of the World's Columbian Exhibition, when a large segment of the public experienced the American version of the Orient for the first time. Within each of these time increments, I will examine the shift in class values, and in the urban environment, concentrating on the change in the role of leisure. Against the backdrop of those changes, the use and attitudes towards Islamic Revival remained the same. Representative examples of Islamic Revival are used within each time frame to illustrate this point. Within the period 1903-1917, I study Luna Park at Coney Island, New York; Murat Shrine in Indianapolis, Indiana; and Medinah Temple in Chicago, Illinois. For the construction period of 1918-1929, I analyze the Avalon Theatre and the Medinah Athletic Club in Chicago, and the Atlanta Fox Theatre in Atlanta, Georgia.

First it is important to know who the cultural arbiters were and why they might have wanted to separate cultural behaviors. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, cultural arbiters were White Anglo-Saxon Protestants who had money or, at the very least, access to money. Jackson Lears refers to them as American bourgeoisie.⁶ High culture had always been

a province of the wealthy, but, in the late nineteenth century, the middle class class also greatly influenced culture. The Victorian middle class consisted of professional men and their wives, as well as bankers, corporate executives, owners of large stores, and others who held well respected white collar positions such as stock brokers or accountants.⁷ Eventually these middle class Victorians needed to separate behaviors in the cultural realm because they needed order in all aspects of their lives. The need for order, earmarked by self-control and self-denial, makes sense when viewed against the chaotic background of the late nineteenth century.

The latter part of the nineteenth century and early part of the twentieth century was a time of unprecedented turmoil in America, mainly as a result of dramatic urban growth, an increase in numbers of immigrants, rapid industrialization, and workers' struggles with management. One factor that helped change America from a rural to an urban society was the great many immigrants who poured into the cities during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Between 1880 and 1930, the population of the nation's cities increased from 14,130,000 to 68,955,000, and the foreign-born population rose from 6.7 to 14.2 million during those same years.⁸ Unlike the earlier immigrants from Northern Europe, who were largely

Protestant and fair-skinned, the "new" immigrants came mostly from eastern and southern Europe and were heavily Catholic and Jewish, poor, and often darker skinned, all of which caused disdain and criticism from the native-born Americans.⁹

The sheer numbers of the new immigrants concerned many native-born citizens. Richard Henry Edwards, the social reformer, published a series of tracts addressing social problems with suggested solutions. One of the tracts is titled simply Immigration, in which he calculates that the number of American immigrants doubled annually between 1870 and 1905. He further states that 6 million of the total 26 million immigrants arrived between the years 1903 and 1909.¹⁰ It is clear from his account that Edwards, like many other native-born middle class Americans, felt threatened by the changes in population for he referred to the new immigrants in derogatory terms as he described the "invading hordes" as unintelligent and unAmerican. In his solution, Edwards emphasized the necessity of establishing order among the new arrivals by restricting their numbers and "Americanizing" them, which really appeared to mean "WASPizing" them. Further complicating this ambition was the fact that the new immigrants, because of their unacceptability along ethnic lines and their late arrival in America, were usually members of the working class who were

growing increasingly disruptive and discontent.¹¹

The growing labor unrest gave the middle class and management another reason to be concerned about the challenge to their values of self-restraint and self-denial. In the 1880s, the working class had made its presence felt. Trade unions gained a foothold in the workplace, and, with greater industrialization, the unions campaigned for the eight-hour day and better wages. Sometimes the union struggles erupted in bloody battles as in the Haymarket tragedy in Chicago. To add to the financial stress that most Americans were under in the early 1890s, America fell victim to the greatest financial crisis it had yet seen, the Panic of 1893. More than 8,000 commercial businesses with liabilities of \$285 million failed between April and October of 1893. The combination of economic strife and labor-management unrest, as in the Homestead Lock-out of 1892 and the Pullman Strike of 1894, caused some writers to argue that the nation hovered on the brink of revolution.¹²

A quieter but important revolution was taking place in the realm of leisure, strongly influenced by the disparate attitudes towards leisure by the middle and working classes. The former sought personal enrichment, and the latter, public amusement. Leisure time transformed the lives of both middle and working classes. By the end of the nineteenth century, work

and the rest of life were of a common fabric. The term "leisure" referred strictly to the "leisured" class, a class that simply did not have to work for a living. Subsequent technological and economic advances associated with the factory system brought about a distinct separation between work and the rest of life. The time clock measured "work" from "not work" time; concomitantly, as a result of the protracted struggle between labor and management, the work week diminished. By the end of the nineteenth century, social reformers clashed with Calvinist preachers. The former tried to persuade the latter that leisure activity was beneficial to the individual. The reformers' arguments won, and, in the early years of the twentieth century, a distinct realm of leisure emerged. By World War I, middle class America considered leisure time an essential part of the "good life."¹³ But the worlds of leisure and work remained distinctly separate. Physical environment helped to compartmentalize these two realms.

In addition to segregating work from leisure, the late Victorians also used physical structures to separate types of leisure. Victorian culture favored dichotomy--moral versus immoral behavior, order versus disorder, refined versus unrefined, and "highbrow versus lowbrow." Highbrow emphasized personal edification and equated to cultural activities.

Lowbrow emphasized public enjoyment and became equated with amusement.¹⁴ In the nineteenth century, critics, reformers, ministers, and educators of the Protestant middle class sought to discipline, refine, and instruct the "hoi polloi" in the value of culture.¹⁵ According to historian Lawrence Levine, the arbiters "sacralized culture" by embedding their own values in the the commoners through institutions such as libraries, museums, art institutions and fine theatre.¹⁶ The working class still preferred lowbrow culture such as band pavilions, dance halls, amusement parks, saloons, clubs and vaudeville theaters.¹⁷

If one was to separate highbrow and lowbrow cultures, one needed appropriate highbrow and lowbrow architecture. The cultural elite considered classical or western European architecture to be highbrow, and anything non-western to be lowbrow architecture. Oriental or Islamic architecture was such an example. The cultural arbiters took sacred architectural elements from the Near East, stripped them of their former substance and meaning, and created an adaptation imbued with a new American interpretation. The result was Islamic Revival.¹⁸

Islamic Revival architecture has the following characteristics borrowed from Islamic architecture. The two most outstanding features are the minaret and bulbous dome. Horseshoe or pointed horseshoe arches

often decorate the facade of a building. Columns are usually slender and adorned with much detail, usually using a geometric pattern. Geometric strapwork is also common. The masonry is often multi-colored brick or multi-colored stone with terra cotta detailing.¹⁹

Unlike other eclectic styles that made their way into the middle class mainstream, Islamic Revival became primarily associated with places of entertainment, the greatest proliferation of which occurred between the years 1893-1929.²⁰ American versions of Islamic architecture placed in strategic locations served Americans in two ways. They could have the intense experience of a foreign culture of which Lears speaks, and, at the same time, cultural vanguards could retain authority over that culture by limiting it to the sphere of amusement.²¹

The American interest in the Orient, represented by Islamic Revival architecture, converged with the increase in immigration, urban population, technological advances, commercial amusements, and leisure time and money at the World's Columbian Exhibition in Chicago, Illinois, in 1893. The exalted culture of the White City vied for attention with the vulgar pleasures of the Midway Plaisance. Still clinging to the ideal that culture should elevate, the cultural elite who created the Columbian Exhibition (the movers and shakers of Chicago such as Mrs. Potter

Palmer) believed in the two worlds of "high" and "low" culture. The White City, built in the Beaux Art style --a style popular in Paris at the time--represented "high" culture. The architecture of the Midway Plaisance represented "low" culture.²²

Not intended as an original part of the Exhibition, the Midway Plaisance was an afterthought. The Midway featured rides, such as George Ferris' spectacular wheel, market places, exhibits and architecture from many other countries. Originally intended as an ethnology lesson for fairgoers, the Midway showed the visitors the primitiveness of other cultures in comparison to that of the United States. But the Midway was really about "letting go" and enjoying oneself. It was such a success that subsequent World's Fairs always included a Midway.

The organizer's efforts to separate types of leisure by architecture did eventually lead the cultural elite to separate behaviors by architecture. For those concerned with the disorderliness of the surrounding environment, a particular time and a place in which to express emotion gave some measure of security. Setting helped Americans decide whether to exhibit free or formal behavior. But before examining how this came about, this paper will take a more in-depth look at the first stage in the process--

how leisure changed definition from high culture to amusement.

1. Virginia and Lee McAllester, A Field Guide to American Houses (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), p. 231. European interest in Egypt and the Orient is briefly discussed in the chapter on Exotic Revival Architecture. American interest in Egypt also cited in John Poppeliers, S. Allen Chambers, Jr., Nancy B. Schwartz, What Style is It? (Washington, D.C.: The Preservation Press, 1983), p. 50. Edward Rice, Captain Sir Richard Francis Burton (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1990), Blurb, p. 4. Around the World with Kipling (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1926), p. 10.

2. Edward W. Said, Orientalism (New York: Random House, 1979), p. 3.

3. Charles A. Gaskell, A. M., Happy Homes and the Hearts That Make Them (Chicago: U. S. Publishing House, 1886), pp. 375-376 and pp. 472-473.

4. Jackson Geare, No Place of Grace (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), pp. xiii-xiv.

5. Ibid., p. xvii.

6. Ibid., p. xiv.

7. Alan Trachtenberg, The Incorporation of America (New York: Hill & Wang, 1982), p. 140-146; Lawrence Levine, Highbrow/Lowbrow (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988).

8. U. S. Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975), Part 1, pp. 11, 12 and 117.

9. For a history of immigration, especially the new immigrant experience, consult John Bodnar, The Transplanted (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987). See also Roger Daniels, Coming to America (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1990) for a complete history of American immigration.

10. Richard Henry Edwards, Immigration (Madison, WI: author copyright, 1909), pp. 8 & 9. This is the third in a series of eleven studies. The others are: 1) The Liquor Problem; 2) The Negro Problem; 4) The Labor Problem; 5) Poverty; 6) Excessive & Concentrated Wealth; 7) Divorce Problem; 8) Problem of Clean Municipal Government; 9) The Boy Problem; 10) The

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Increase of Crime and the Administration of Criminal Justice; 11) The Treatment of the Criminal.

11. Edwards, Immigration, p. 6; Alan Axelrod, Colonial Revival in America (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1983), p. 14.

12. M. B. Schnapper, American Labor, A Bicentennial History (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1975), pp. 150, 191, and 200.

13. Donna R. Braden, Leisure and Entertainment in America (Dearborn, MI: Henry Ford Museum and Greenfield Village, 1988), pp. 4.

14. Levine, Highbrow/Lowbrow, pp. 3-4.

15. Reid Badger, The Great American Fair (Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1979), pp. 107-109.

16. John F. Kasson, Amusing the Million (New York: Hill & Wang, 1978), p. 4.

17. Badger, The Great American Fair, pp. 107-109.

18. Islamic Revival architecture is part of a broader Eclectic Movement. The term eclectic refers to the fact that many styles existed simultaneously, that Americans were not interested in only one look or style. Eclecticism was a result of the search by many architects for a style that would best express the new era in Western civilization. Beginning with the 1880s and extending through the 1920s, the goal of eclecticism was formal and psychological order. The styles tended to be predominantly European due to the fact that many European architects came to America and built elaborate residences for the wealthy or were commissioned to build commercial structures in large cities. Then the middle class admired and copied these styles for their own homes. Examples of house styles of the eclectic movement were Chateausque, patterned after French Chateaus; English Tudor Style, based on medieval English houses; Neo-Classical, which used ancient Roman and Greek forms; Italian Renaissance; Beaux Arts, named after the French School and using classical elements; and the Prairie Style, a modern style in the Frank Lloyd Wright tradition. Revival styles such as Colonial Revival and Spanish Revival were also popular. The above styles were commonly found in both residences and commercial buildings. Other styles were much rarer. One such style was what shall herein be labeled "Islamic Revival."

The reason for the term "Islamic Revival," more

commonly called Moorish or Moorish Revival, is twofold. The first reason is to differentiate between the use of the Islamic architectural elements employed during an earlier architectural period and the period addressed in this paper. About mid-century, Moorish Revival or Oriental style was part of a larger Exotic Revival Movement. The movement died out about 1880. Examples of this architecture were extremely rare. Very few residences were constructed in this style, one example being P. T. Barnum's house in Bridgeport, Connecticut. Most uses of the Moorish style were reserved for "pleasure palaces," clubs, hotels and theaters--not unlike those of the later period.

The second reason for the term "Islamic Revival" is to differentiate between the style using exclusively Near Eastern motifs and the more commonly named Moorish style, which combines Islamic and Spanish architectural elements and Spanish motifs. I used definitions from Cyril M. Harris, ed., Illustrated Dictionary of Historic Architecture (New York: Dover Publications, Inc.), pp. 306-307. See also Leland Roth, A Concise History of American Architecture (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1979), p. 174. Alan Axelrod, Colonial Revival (New York: Harper Collins Publishers), pp. 341-359. The following reference texts discuss American styles of architecture. John J.-G. Blumenson, Identifying American Architecture (Nashville, TN: American Association for State and Local History, 1977); Mitchell Beazley International, Ltd., ed., The World Atlas of Architecture (New York: Portland House, 1984), p. 352. McAlester and McAlester, A Field Guide to American Houses; Poppeliers, et al., What Style is It?

19. Sherrill Whiton, Interior Design and Decoration (New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1974), p. 295. Other sources on Islamic Architecture are Islamic Architecture by Derek Hill & Oleg Grabar (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964); Islamic Architecture by John D. Hoag (New York: Rizzoli International, 1987).

20. McAlester and McAlester, A Field Guide to American Houses, p. 231. Poppeliers, et al., What Style is It?, p. 50.

21. Lears, No Place of Grace, p. xiv; Said, Orientalism, p. 3.

22. Trachtenberg, The Incorporation of America, p. 213.

CHAPTER 1

THE ROLE OF LEISURE IN AMERICA 1871-1893

Presidential candidate James A. Garfield stated in an address to the Chautauqua Institution in 1880: "We may divide the whole struggle of the human race into two chapters: first, the fight to get leisure; and then the second fight of civilization--what shall we do with our leisure when we get it."¹ One might also add these questions to those of Garfield: What is leisure? How do we act while doing it? Where is it to be done? This chapter examines the role of leisure as it changed from a private educational experience to a more public amusement experience culminating at the World's Columbian Exhibition.

The definition of leisure changed after the Civil War. Leisure no longer referred strictly to the "leisured" class--the very rich who were not obliged to work.² The growing middle class, in an effort to emulate the lifestyle of their "superiors," promoted leisure for purposes of self-enrichment. The words culture and leisure were often used interchangeably according to historian Alan Trachtenberg. Culture, in Trachtenberg's words, was "nonutilitarian activities and goods: the arts, religion, personal refinement, formal higher education, in effect those energies which did not go into making a living." The Chautauqua

assembly represented an ideal example of middle class cultural leisure activity. Developed in 1874 as a retreat for Methodist Sunday-school teachers, it brought the public refinement and aesthetic sensibility through higher learning.³

Types of cultural/leisure pursuits served the middle class in another way. If one participated in middle class sanctioned activities, the middle class considered that individual "cultured." Culture helped them delineate Americans from non-Americans. In the eyes of the middle class, Americans were not the extremely wealthy who were looked upon as near-royalty and therefore more European than American. Nor were Americans the unwashed masses of immigrants and industrial workers who increasingly flocked to the nation's large cities. The middle class judged the two ends of the economic spectrum to be corrupt and immoral. The extremely rich were decadent because they could afford to be, and the extremely poor were forced to eke out a living and thus live lives of uncultivated ignorance. But there was redemption for what William James called "the other half." Such a member of the lower economic group could be "raised to the status of American" through education--an education in culture.⁴

It should be reiterated that the term middle class, in the Victorian Age, translated into white middle class Protestant. There were certainly middle

class members of other religions and races, but for the most part, they were not instrumental in making cultural policy or shaping cultural forms. During the latter part of the nineteenth century, although the concept of leisure changed, the underlying opinion of what a "real American" was persisted, and thus affected both the appearance of leisure places and the behavior of participants therein.⁵

Primarily the people who became cultural vanguards were schoolteachers, librarians, and women in volunteer societies who inherited the role formerly played by urban elite women. Male society considered the dispensing of values and elevation of spirit to be feminine qualities, as opposed to toughness and aggressiveness, more masculine characteristics. The women brought what Horace Bushnell called the "beauty principle" to society--qualities of art, polite conversation, manners, and genteel styles of speech and dress. The Victorian society viewed these qualities as essential if one was to set about the task of refining another human being. Examples of leisure-time activities infused with the beauty principle and therefore very acceptable to the middle class were taking nature walks through parks, particularly one of Olmsted's parks, attending museum exhibits, and going to the opera, symphonies, and charity balls. These were activities designed to calm and elevate the

spirit.⁶

The exaltation of the individual spirit was the goal in appreciating culture as well as in creating it.

"Culture, seen as unique products of an individual spirit," became sacred to the middle class, according to historian Lawrence Levine. Matthew Arnold, to whom the arbiters of culture listened eagerly, stated that culture was above all, an inward operation.

"Culture...places human perfection in an internal condition." Thus, theaters, museums, symphonic halls, parks and public places were to be places where the public could appreciate culture individually. The preferred competitive sports of the middle class--archery, croquet, and lawn tennis--were primarily those played by an individual. Those activities of an external condition, or rather anything that produced a mass ethos, such as boxing, football, or even baseball, were culturally suspect.⁷

While culture was to be enjoyed individually by the cultivated women of the era, their sacred duty, strongly echoed by writers and ministers of the day, was to educate the masses and bring culture to the less cultivated. Therefore, the 1870s, and subsequent decades of the nineteenth century, witnessed the building of a plethora of public institutions. Municipal museums, concert halls, public libraries and universities brought culture closer to the general

public. George Templeton Strong, Manhattan community leader, underscored the importance of these institutions as cultural learning centers. In 1871, he critiqued the then-new Metropolitan Museum of Art and then added: "Twenty years hence it will probably have grown into a really instructive museum."⁸

The middle class arbiters of culture elected to conduct their elevating and edifying activities in imposing structures. The architecture of the museums, concert halls and so forth, celebrated Western Civilization. According to the cultural vanguards, the European and classical styles epitomized the highest and purest form of art, therefore making it superior to all non-European cultures. Thus, the buildings were designed with Beaux Arts, Second Empire or Neo-classical facades, marble columns, sweeping staircases, frescoed ceilings and stained glass windows.⁹

While the middle class was busy building formidable places for culturally educating the public, the working class had its own idea of leisure and its own places in which to carry out the idea. An elevated spirit was not a concern of working people. "High culture--the culture of the intellectual, the artist, the writer, the thinker--made little direct impression on popular life."¹⁰ The workers found entertainment in the saloons, private clubs, churches,

labor meetings and fraternal societies. Fraternal societies were very popular with both the middle and working classes. In fact, by 1890, the national enrollment in such societies numbered 6 million with 40 per cent of the male population over 21 proclaimed members.¹¹

In 1876, Boston industrialist, Edward Atkinson gave his interpretation of the changing role of leisure in the life of the worker in Trachtenberg's, The Incorporation of America. Atkinson said that "'culture and refinements'" at one time came from labor, but this changed, and culture then came from "'leisure and opportunity.'" In the pursuit of enjoyment, Trachtenberg adds, the laborers sought "the excitement of cheap amusements." In her book of the same name, Kathy Peiss states that exalting the individual was the antithesis of what working class leisure was about. Rather, the workers desired to escape from competitive individualism and lose themselves in group activities.¹²

Throughout most of the Gilded Age, those of high culture regarded popular culture with suspicion. Popular culture implied enjoyment for enjoyment's sake and this concerned the Victorian middle class. It was their job to instruct their inferiors in the proper use of leisure and to tell them that increased indulgence in frivolous activities was an improper use of time.

Unitarian minister Jonathan Baxter Harrison studied mill workers in the 1870s and gave his opinion of their amusements. He found their reading matter to be "vapid" and "silly." He also found that factory youths spent a great deal of time in saloons and music halls. He was quite pleased to report, however, that the sexual behavior of workers was not as libidinous as many moralists thought, an area of societal concern well into the twentieth century. He attributed the moral behavior to the benefits of a long work day.¹³

Though many social reformers and unions were fighting for an even shorter work day, the middle class regarded the possibility with considerable skepticism. They feared cultural degradation and inability to control the workers if they were to have even more time on their hands. After all, idle hands were the devil's workshop. For them the middle class remained an "island of virtue and stability" in a sea of chaos.¹⁴ While the 1890s were a time of social turbulence, they were also known as the "Gay Nineties," a decade when more and more diverse forms of recreation appeared on the scene. Bicycling came into vogue, and vaudeville (cleaned up for the family in the 1880s) gained a wider audience. Leisure activities became increasingly mixed-gender events, and the middle and working classes began to mingle more. Leisure time was spent on increasingly amusement-oriented activities. With the

advance of streetcar transit in large cities, more commercial amusements such as amusement parks and dance halls were available to a greater number of people.¹⁵

Still, it was difficult for middle-class Americans to accept recreation that was not uplifting and self-improving. Therefore, Chautauquas and spas were still popular. Naturally, workers could not travel to spas, so a walk to a neighborhood saloon or turnverein (German club) or a streetcar ride to an amusement park or theatre had to suffice. Yet, there were those of the middle class who voiced their discontent with the old view of leisure. William James, in his critique of the Chautauqua, wrote that "'culture and refinement all alone are not enough.'" We must, he said, "stiffen 'our own ideals' with the tonic of the common laborer's 'sterner stuff of manly virtue.'"¹⁶ He was to get his wish; when it came to a choice between high-minded and instructive or thrilling and sensual, the latter won out. As the middle class participated in group activities and developed commercial businesses, they changed their attitude toward popular culture. Popular culture was slowly becoming the order of the day. Still, the cultural aspect of leisure was highly touted by the cultural vanguards. Both aspects of leisure--leisure as culture and leisure as amusement--were represented in spectacular fashion at the grand event of 1893, the Columbian Exposition.

CHAPTER 1 NOTES

1. James Garfield, Address to the Chautauqua Institution in New York State (1880), as quoted in Braden, Leisure and Entertainment, p. 12.

2. Braden, p. 9.

3. Trachtenberg, Incorporation of America, p. 142-3; F. W. Gunsaulus, "The Ideal of Culture," The Chautauquan (October 1892): pp. 59-65.

4. William James, "What Makes A Life Significant?" The Chautauquan, 1899, cited by Trachtenberg, Incorporation of America, pp. 143-144; Gunsaulus, "The Ideal of Culture," p. 60.

5. William B. Rhoads, "The Colonial Revival and the Americanization of Immigrants," edited by Alan Axelrod, Colonial Revival in America (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1983), p. 341; W. H. Goodyear, "The Influence of Greek Architecture in the U.S.," The Chautauquan (October 1892), p. 4.

6. Discussion of the "beauty principle" is found in Horace Bushnell's anti-suffrage tract, Women's Suffrage: The Reform Against Nature (1869), cited by Trachtenberg, Incorporation of America, pp. 145-146. Lists of leisure activities, Braden, Leisure and Entertainment, pp. 9-12. Role in proper cultural refinement: Kasson, Rudeness and Civility, pp. 215-216; Levine, Highbrow/Lowbrow, p. 164; Gaskell, Happy Homes, p. 524.

7. Matthew Arnold, Matthew Arnold and American Culture (Berkeley, 1965), as quoted in Trachtenberg, Incorporation of America, p. 142. Types of leisure activities listed in Braden, Leisure and Entertainment, pp. 9-12; Thomas J. Schlereth, Victorian America (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1991), p. 211.

8. Gunsaulus, "The Ideal of Culture", p. 60; Symonds, "Culture: Its Meaning and Uses," p. 671; Louis Auchincloss, ed., The Hone and Strong Diaries of Old Manhattan (New York: Abbeville Press, 1989), p. 267.

9. Goodyear, "Greek Architecture in the U.S.," p. 1; Said, Orientalism, p. 7. Architectural description in Trachtenberg, p. 144.

10. Trachtenberg, Incorporation of America, p. 161.

11. Statistics found in Schlereth, Victorian America, p. 211.

12. Edward Atkinson (1876) as quoted in Trachtenberg, Incorporation of America, p. 149. See also Kathy Peiss, Cheap Amusements (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), p. 4.

13. Jonathan Baxter Harrison, Certain Dangerous Tendencies in American Life (1880), as quoted in Trachtenberg, p. 148; University Settlement Society of New York City, "Pleasures of the Poor," The Independent (April 19, 1900): 1023-1025.

14. Settlement Society, "Pleasures," p. 1025.

15. Amusement activities cited in Schlereth, Victorian America, pp. 209-210.

16. William James, "What Makes a Life Significant?" (1899), cited by Trachtenberg, Incorporation of America, p. 141.

changed the nature of leisure places. The exhibition halls, state buildings and Court of Honor of the White City brimmed with America's scientific and agricultural achievements in pointed contrast to the Midway, which diminished the significance and importance of other countries and peoples.

As the White City sought to educate, the Midway sought to amuse. Here also was a successful separation of behavior within one area. The atmosphere of the White City was more formal than that of the gaudier more bawdy Midway, and its buildings reflected the ambience, including Islamic Revival architecture. The Midway became a prototype for future midways, both at World's Fairs and amusement parks. This chapter concentrates on the Midway--its contribution to the mass amusement industry and reaffirmation of America's view of the

CHAPTER 2

THE WHITE CITY, THE MIDWAY, AND THE GAY NINETIES 1893-1903

The World's Columbian Exhibition celebrated the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus. In doing so, the exhibition highlighted commercial entertainment on a grand scale and underscored the superiority of the United States over the rest of the world. Mass entertainment and American superiority, linked together, made an indelible impression on the minds of fairgoers and forever changed the nature of leisure places. The exhibition halls, state buildings and Court of Honor of the White City brimmed with America's scientific and agricultural achievements in pointed contrast to the Midway, which diminished the significance and importance of other countries and peoples.

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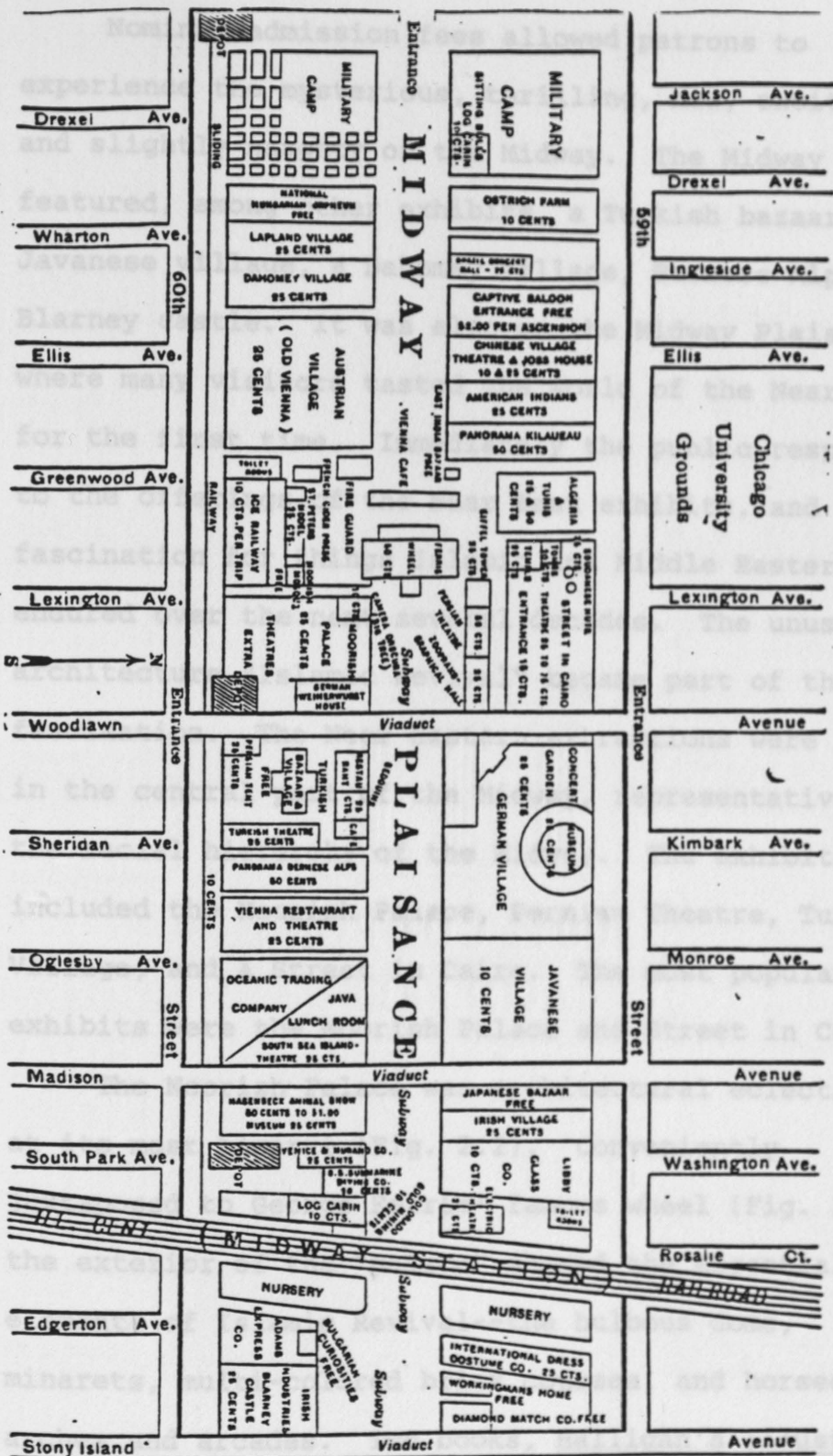
"Other."

An anthropological smorgasbord, the Midway helped to establish in the minds of Americans the national superiority of America coupled with the racial superiority of the white race. The planning committee, composed of cultural elites, intended this inference and the layout of the Exhibition reinforced their intention (Figure 2.1) As Alan Trachtenberg writes:

The Court of Honor provided the center around which the rest of White City was organized in hierarchical degree; indeed, the carnival atmosphere of the Midway Plaisance confirmed by contrast the dignity of the center. And, of course, the center represented America through its exhibitions, the outlying exotic Midway stood for the rest of the world in subordinate relation.¹

In his book, All the World's A Fair, Robert Rydell reiterates that the cultural elite intended to show the non-white world of the Midway as "childlike and barbaric in instructive counterpoint to the progress of the ages on display in the Utopian White City." He further adds that the middle class sought to influence the content of popular culture because of the growing class unrest at the time. Fairs legitimized racial exploitation by emphasizing white supremacy as a utopian agency, thereby obscuring class divisions among whites. The whites were then bound by a national purpose.² This view of the world gained impetus and subsequently became a part of the fabric of middle class beliefs.

FIGURE 2.1
LAYOUT OF THE MIDWAY



WORLD'S FAIR GROUND

COPYRIGHTED 1893. BY W. S. CONKEY COMPANY, CHICAGO.

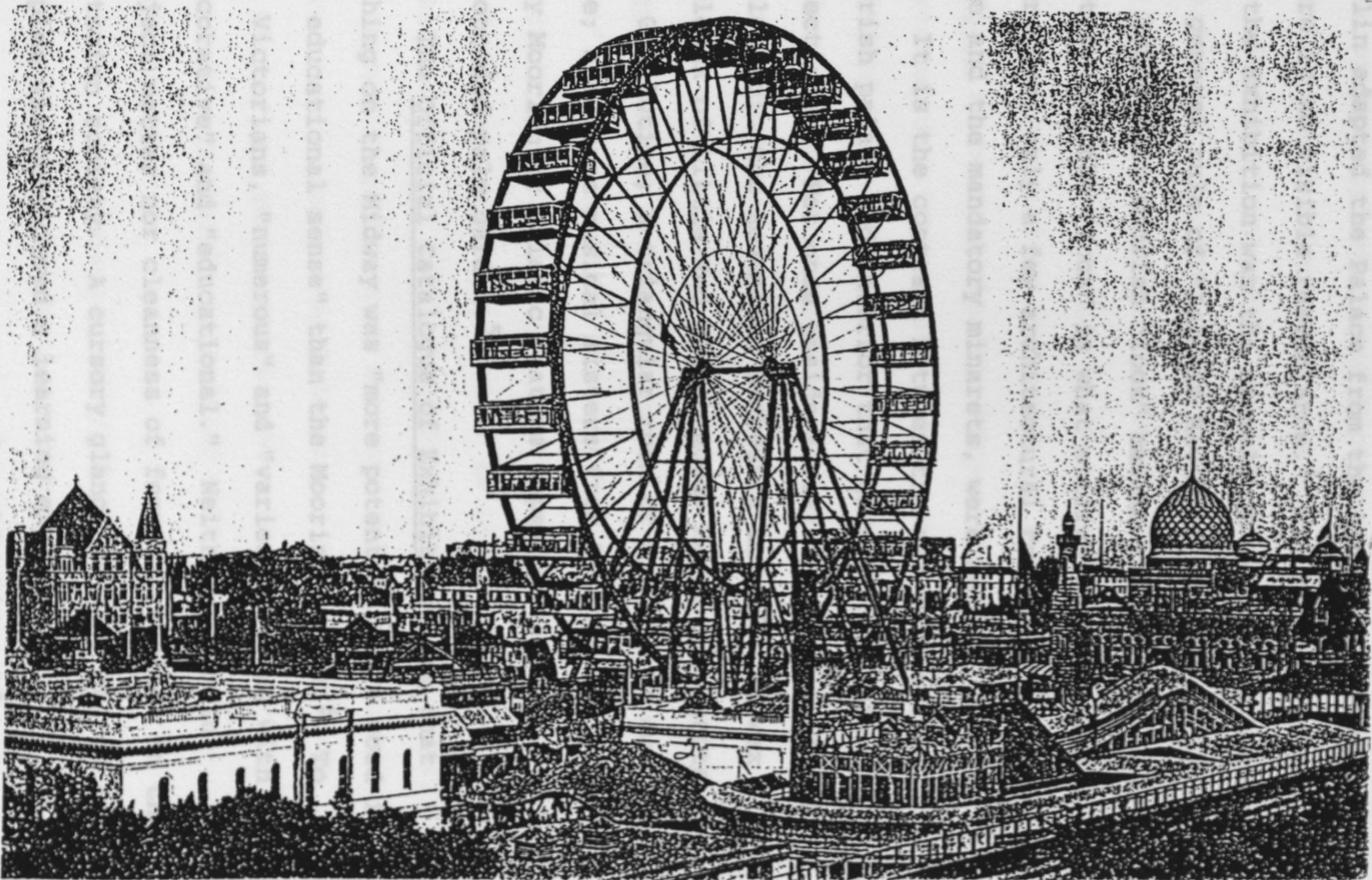
Nominal admission fees allowed patrons to experience the mysterious, thrilling, new, exciting and slightly naughty on the Midway. The Midway featured, among other exhibits, a Turkish bazaar, a Javanese village, a Dahomey village, Bernese Alps and Blarney castle. It was also on the Midway Plaisance where many visitors tasted the world of the Near East for the first time. Immediately the public responded to the offerings of the Near East exhibits, and the fascination for things Islamic and Middle Eastern endured over the next several decades. The unusual architecture "Islamic Revival" became part of this fascination. The Near Eastern attractions were located in the central part of the Midway, representative of the racial hierarchy of the Midway. The exhibits included the Moorish Palace, Persian Theatre, Turkish Village, and A Street in Cairo. The most popular exhibits were the Moorish Palace and Street in Cairo.³

The Moorish Palace was architectural eclecticism at its most bizarre (Fig. 2.2). Conveniently juxtaposed to George Ferris' famous wheel (Fig. 2.3), the exterior of the "palace" showed the essential elements of Islamic Revival--the bulbous dome, minarets, multi-colored brick courses, and horseshoe arches and arcades. Two books, Halligan's Illustrated World and Rand McNally's Handbook of the World's Columbian Exhibition, state that Gustav Castan of

FIGURE 2.2
MOORISH PALACE



FIGURE 2.3
FERRIS WHEEL, MIDWAY PLAISANCE



Berlin adapted the Palace from the Alhambra. However, there is no visible resemblance.⁴ The Moorish Palace at the Exhibition was the example of what would become the general rule of "Islamic Revival" architecture. The Islamic or Moorish "look" became the important factor, for the "look" is what stirred the emotions. Therefore, only a few architectural features, usually dome and the mandatory minarets, were needed.

It is the contrast between the exterior of the Moorish palace and interior that gave it its unique eclecticism. For once inside a visitor would find the following: the Roumanian Orchestra and Chorus; wax tableaux of Little Red Riding Hood; Marie Antoinette at the Guillotine; a triangular room of mirrors; a devil's cave; and three musical sisters from Bucharest. The only Moorish or Islamic feature appeared to be a colonnaded palm garden.⁵

The Official Catalogue of Exhibits states that nothing on the Midway was "more potent for more good in the educational sense" than the Moorish Palace.⁶ To the Victorians, "numerous" and "varied" equated with "decorative" and "educational." Neither depth in subject matter nor cleanness of form had a place in the Victorian society. A cursory glance at many things and peoples was considered a learning experience. Victorians liked assortment and combinations of many things, whether it was a knick-knack that held objects

d'art or heavily ornamented furniture and houses, or, in this case, a palace that held aspects of many countries under one roof. It mattered not that the exterior and interior matched; it mattered greatly that the combination elicited interest and excitement.

The same association of excitement linked to the Near East is noted by the author of the Rand McNally Handbook as he describes the "Street in Cairo" exhibit. He states that "the street's works and wonders hold us enchained by an irresistible fascination."⁷ The wonders and works he spoke of included such things as bazaars, donkeys, camels, a mosque, an Egyptian wedding, and of course the infamous performers of the danse du ventre or the "hootchy-kootchy" of "Little Egypt" and company (Fig 2.4). For all these reasons, especially the latter, the Street in Cairo drew a large crowd at the Exhibition, and it is significant that subsequent fairs, such as the St. Louis Fair of 1904, and amusement parks, such as Coney Island, featured a Cairo street complete with dancers. Once again, sex and daring and excitement became associated with the Near East and thereby associated with Islamic style architecture.

The other leisure legacy of the Columbian Exhibition appears to be a paradox to the first. The Fair reinforced the attitude of superiority and exclusivity of white Victorian Americans, and at the

FIGURE 2.4
DANSERS OF THE DANSE DU VENTRE



same time, included more different people in the leisure process than ever before, moving toward the modern era and what John Kasson calls democratic urban recreation. Civic values of the cultural elite gave way to the commercial values of entrepreneurs determined to attract a mass audience.⁸ The Columbian Exhibition provided the training ground for many future entrepreneurs in the entertainment business.

Thus began, on the heels of the Fair, a multi-million dollar business of which few could have conceived before 1893. Entertainment, built on group emotion and self-gratification, shifted from the realm of the family and local clubs to the realm of the commercial during the last decade of the century. The term "Gay Nineties" is applicable to this decade because more leisure was provided for more people than ever before. The middle class and working class moved slightly closer together because they both had the time and money to spend on leisure. Personal fulfillment could now come through work and leisure.

The cultural elite became quite concerned with the new developments in popular culture, for they feared a lack of control and a loss of their place as arbiters of true culture. It was this anxiety that caused the elite men to judge popular culture as "feminine" because it emphasized emotional satisfaction of the consumer. At the same time, these same men judged

popular culture "trivial and dangerous, symptomatic of, and responsible for, all the social ills of life under capitalism."⁹ Conservative Christians exemplified by T. DeWitt Talmage in Brooklyn, New York, became increasingly worried about the direction amusement was taking. In his book Evils of Cities written in 1899, Talmage categorizes these evils. He warns young men and especially young women of the "plague of amusements" by citing the dangers that lurked in nickelodeons, penny arcades, ice cream parlors and dance halls.¹⁰

Not only did the cultural elite judge the popular amusements as "trivial and dangerous," but they also deemed the architecture of such places the same. Thus Islamic Revival architecture became inextricably linked to the non-serious. A non-western exotic appearance furthered the image that had been established at the Columbian Exposition where Islamic Revival had already been associated with emotion, sensuousness and frivolity.

Historians of the turn of the century emphasize key words that they believe capture the spirit of the times. Richard Maltby, chronicler of popular culture, uses the word "consumerism." He stresses the movement from the producer culture of the nineteenth century that emphasized scarcity, to the consumer culture of the twentieth century that emphasized surplus.¹¹ In

his book Century's End, Hillel Schwartz uses the word "acceleration" with which to characterize the new century. The term is particularly apt when referring to the new modes of transportation that criss-crossed the nation's cities. Streetcars, interurbans, subways and elevated trains or "Els" moved more people more quickly than ever before. The automobile was making slight headway as a family vehicle among the middle class. Bicycles, the craze of the 1890s, continued to offer riders a faster alternative to walking. Wilder motion pictures, ragtime music, new dances, roller coasters and Rimsky-Korsakov's extremely popular "Flight of the Bumble Bee" demonstrated the city dwellers' fascination with acceleration.¹²

~~exot~~ Added to consumerism and acceleration was the essential ingredient of liberty, which has different shades of meaning when applied to leisure America. First was the idea of the masses being "at liberty" or free to use their time in pursuit of leisure activities. The meaning of being "on liberty" (as in "on holiday") was also applicable to the new leisure consumers. Furthermore, people "took liberties" with social conventions of the age by discarding them when the conventions interfered with their pursuit of enjoyment.

The elements of consumerism, acceleration and liberty combined in full force at the World's Columbian

Exposition and increased immeasurably in places of leisure throughout the next few decades. With the advent of the twentieth century, the public demanded, and received, more novel and exciting entertainments such as amusement parks, dance halls, skating rinks, great fairs and movie theatres. New subway lines carried middle and working classes down to the sea where men and women, who left their inhibitions in the city, danced at one of the pavilions or frolicked on the shore. Owners and operators outdid each other thinking up unique ways to attract more visitors. For this new group of pleasure-seeking consumers even more elaborate and exotic settings were needed to lure them away from home into the realm of the fantastic and exotic.

CHAPTER 2 NOTES

1. Trachtenberg, Incorporation of America, p. 213.
2. Robert Rydell, All the World's A Fair (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), pp. 235-236.
3. Portfolio of Photographs of the World's Fair (Chicago: Werner Company, 1893), p. 1.
4. John McGovern, ed. Halligan's Illustrated World: A Portfolio of Photographic Views of the Worlds' Columbian Exposition (Chicago: Jewell N. Halligan Company, 1894), no page numbers; Handbook of the World's Columbian Exhibition (Chicago: Rand McNally & Companies, 1893), p. 235; Mary Cable and Newsweek Book Division, ed., The Alhambra (Newsweek Book Division, 1971).
5. McGovern, Halligan's Illustrated World, Moorish palace page.
6. Official Catalogue of Exhibits on the Midway Plaisance-Worlds' Columbian Exposition (Chicago: W. B. Conkey & Company, 1893) p. 42.
7. Rand McNally Handbook, p. 235.
8. Kasson, Amusing the Million, pp. 26-27.
9. Richard Maltby, ed., Passing Parade (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 8-13, quotation, p. 13.
10. T. Dewitt Talmage, The Evils of Cities (Chicago: Rhodes & McClure Publishing Company, 1899), pp. 1-3.
11. Maltby, Passing Parade, p. 8; Braden, Leisure and Entertainment, p. 12.
12. Hillel Schwartz, Century's End (New York: Doubleday Dell Publishing Group, Inc., 1990), pp. 167-168.

CHAPTER 3

AMUSEMENT PARKS AND SHRINE TEMPLES: THE GOLDEN AGE OF ISLAMIC REVIVAL, 1903-1917

Changes begun in the 1890s were continued in the decade before World War I. More and more people flooded into the nation's cities, augmented by the new foreign-born population, particularly from eastern Europe. Immigration peaked during 1907 at 1,285,349 persons.¹ Both new and old city dwellers had increasing access to mass transit, which enabled workers and others not only to get to work more easily, but also to get to places of play. Some companies even provided excursions and day outings for workers to special places like Coney Island.² Amusement parks, especially Coney Island, brought all classes and ethnic groups together at one location. Coney represented inclusive democratic urban recreation.

Despite continued outcries and censure of amusement activities by ministers and other old-guard citizens, Progressive-era reformers strongly advocated leisure for everyone. Soon, even the more conservative members of the middle class supported the notion of relaxation and "sought personal expression and fulfillment" in leisure activities.³ Burgeoning fraternal societies that catered to conservative middle class men, like the Mystic Shrine, believed in the restorative powers of play.⁴ The Shrine provided the exclusive cultural

elite with urban recreation. Yet, both Coney Island vacationers and Shriners shared the idea of having a separate place to let down one's hair. Moreover, Islamic Revival architecture signified an appropriate place for middle class and worker alike to "go native." from "Coney Island"--the name evokes images of people cavorting on ocean beaches, riding on ferris wheels and roller coasters, eating hotdogs and watching bizarre attractions at sideshows. For those who have been there, and strangely enough, even for those who have not, the name "Coney Island" connotes the ultimate in amusement experience.

Richard Snow, Coney Island historian, says that Coney "perfectly reflected the national mood" and prophesied how the twentieth century would unfold.⁵ One can see the truth to this statement in the way that America, at the beginning of the twentieth century, moved away from the stylized formality and stiltedness of the Victorians. The country was moving toward greater equality for the masses. America was entranced with all new things mechanical. New engines, phonographs, moving pictures, telephones and electric street cars fascinated the public as America moved into the technological age. The general public also desired a less strict code of behavior in the public realm. One of the first places where one could find equipment on the cutting edge of technology, a greater democratic

atmosphere, and an acceptable place to express oneself freely was Coney Island.⁶

~~to~~ There were essentially three periods in Coney Island's history: 1870-1900; 1900-1919; and 1920 onward. Coney Island is a stretch of beach reaching from Sheepshead Bay to Gravesend Bay in Brooklyn, New York. In the late 1800s, Coney was bounded by Norton's Point on the West and Manhattan Beach on the East, the latter where the wealthy gaily romped at such places as the Oriental Hotel.⁷

~~Go~~ The Oriental reflected the eclectic architectural style of the day. It had minarets combined with slender Greek columns and extensive piazzas surrounding the hotel. Already Coney visitors connected the oriental "look" with pleasure and luxury. New York's upper crust had summer places in this section of Coney and they attended exclusive places such as the Jockey Club, Union League Club and University Club.

Transportation fares to get to east Coney Island were too high for anyone other than the upper class and upper middle classes.⁸

~~Both~~ In contrast to the East End, the West End of Coney catered to the unsavory element of the late Victorian society. The concessions, largely run by shysters and fly-by-nighters, pandered to the gamblers, drinkers and prostitutes who inhabited the area. As described by Coney historian Lucy Gillman, "Coney Island of the

seventies, eighties, and nineties was primarily a mass of small buildings and shacks highlighted by an iron tower, a wooden elephant, and three luxurious hotels."⁹

Enter George C. Tilyou, an entrepreneur who owned a Surf House at Coney where he sold incidentals and clam chowder. With the appearance of Tilyou on the scene, a new era in Coney's history began. Tilyou conceived of and built Steeplechase Park, the first of the major Coney Island parks. During Coney Island's "Golden Age," approximately 1904 to 1914, three grand parks competed for customers: Steeplechase Park, Luna Park, and Dreamland. Tilyou built Steeplechase Park in 1897, at a cost of \$37,000. It was an immediate success. Two of the men who worked for Tilyou, who ran a cyclorama called "A Trip to the Moon," decided to open their own park, which became Luna Park.¹⁰

Luna Park was the brainchild of Frederic Thompson and Elmer S. (Skip) Dundy. Thompson, an architectural draftsman from Nashville, Tennessee, encountered Dundy, an Omaha politician, at the Omaha Exposition of 1898. Both were rivals for a similar concession. They ended up combining talents at the Omaha Exposition and later in Buffalo, New York, at the Pan American Exposition of 1901. It was there that Tilyou saw their "Trip to the Moon" exhibit and invited Thompson and Dundy to Steeplechase Park.¹¹

Later Thompson and Dundy decided to lease Sea Lion Park (a mildly successful park) from Captain Paul Boyton for \$800,000.¹² It was to prove a very fine business deal for Boyton. Thompson and Dundy were the perfect partners. Thompson handled the showmanship, Dundy the finances. They opened Luna Park--named for Dundy's sister, not the moon--on May 3, 1903 with only \$12 between them. But, by July 4, 1903, they had broken even.¹³

One of the reasons for the overwhelming success of Luna Park can certainly be attributed to Thompson's architecture. Thompson's self-described purpose was, "to get emotional excitement in the air."¹⁴ In order to do this Thompson chose an oriental scheme of architecture. The reason the architecture had to be oriental, was to "lure people by novelty during the day and furnish a picturesque profile against the night."¹⁵

Despite its oriental effect, Luna Park was certainly not purely oriental in style, but was built in a bizarre combination of styles. Thompson mixed minarets and domes and moorish arches with free renaissance detail (Fig. 3.1). The entrance to Luna Park mixed candy cane circles with Thompson's version of the Islamic crescent (Fig. 3.2). Red and white also decorated the minarets, spires and towers. But it was the 250,000 electric lights lining the spires and towers that gave Luna its magic.¹⁶ (Fig. 3.3).

FIGURE 3.1
PROMENADE OF LUNA PARK

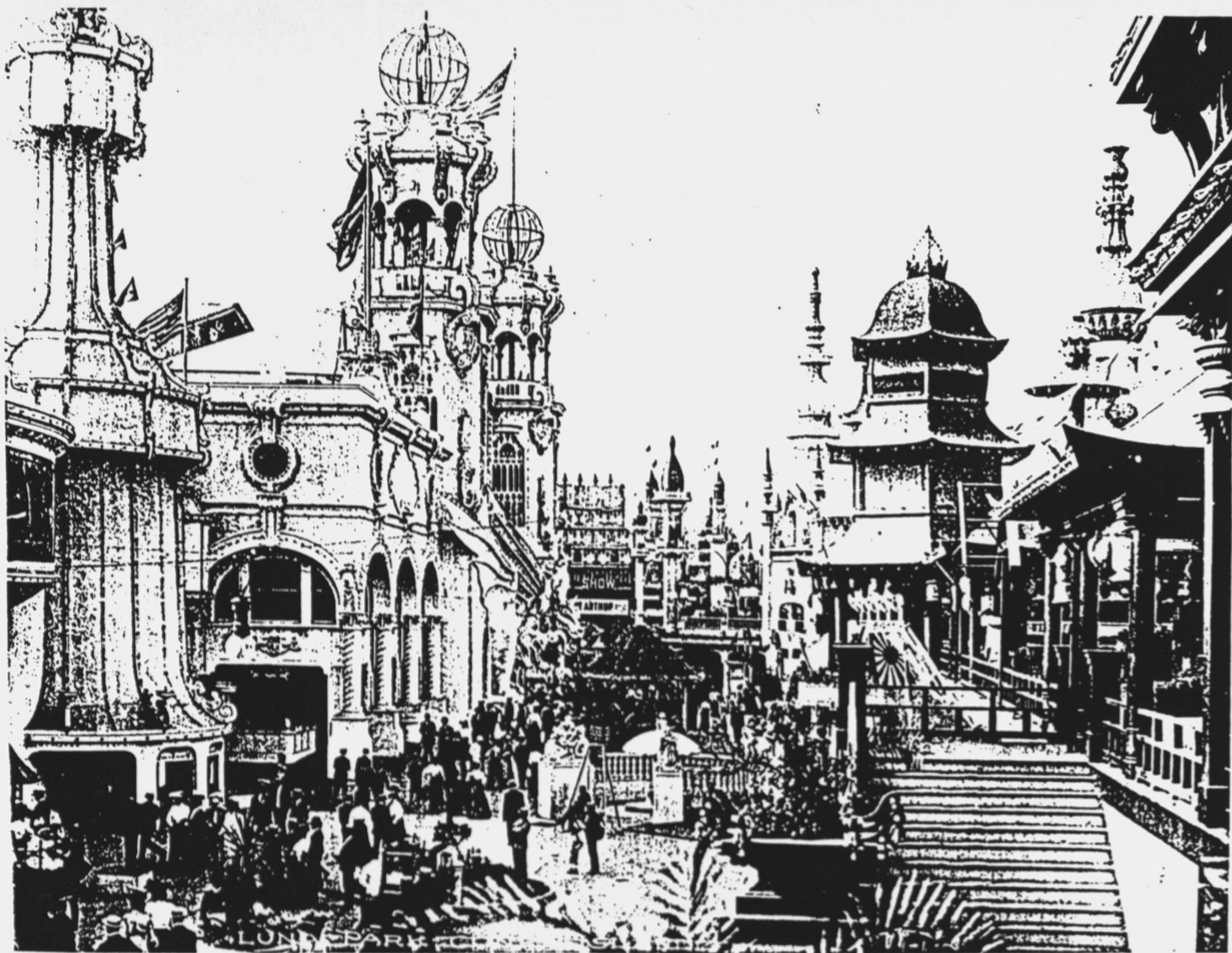


FIGURE 3.2
LUNA PARK ENTRANCE

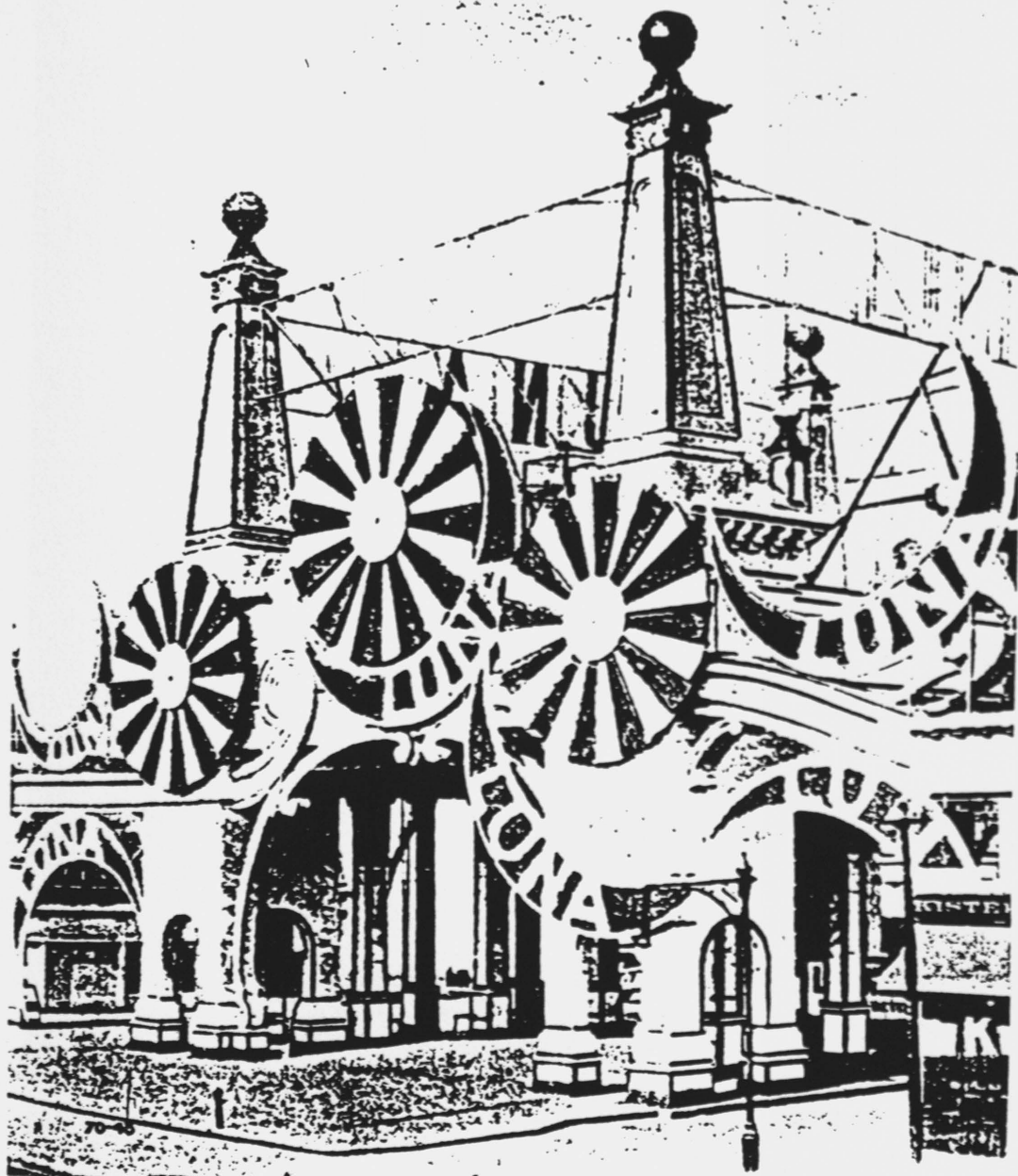


FIGURE 3.3
LUNA PARK AT NIGHT

LUNA PARK AT NIGHT, CONEY ISLAND, N. Y.



Thompson drew his idea for the illumination of Luna from his design of the "Trip to the Moon" exhibit. He believed that not only did light dispel darkness, but it also dispelled evil.¹⁷

It is impossible to assign an accurate name to Luna's style. Yet all who describe it, such as Pilat and Ranson, Kasson, and of course Thompson himself, use the term "oriental" in their descriptions. If not oriental in all detail, the effect certainly is. Ultra-Islamic may be a possible term. Kasson amusingly refers to Luna's style as Super-Saracenic or Oriental Orgasmic.¹⁸ Whatever one calls Luna's style, the effect is that of a fantasy Orient. And, if it was Thompson's design to stir visitors' emotions, he certainly succeeded in doing so. "No park," writes Mangels, "caused a greater sensation. No park has ever received so much acclaim and favorable comment from the press and public. It created a new era."¹⁹

The new era of which Mangels speaks, within which the Oriental or Islamic architecture found an audience, was the era of twentieth century popular culture. The Golden Age of Coney ushered in a more liberated culture, a more expressive and participatory culture than had existed previously. Writers on Coney such as Stephen Weinstein, John Kasson, and Kathy Peiss emphasize different aspects of the new era, such as the new technology, the changing role in the workplace, the

new integration of the sexes in leisure places. But these writers all refer to Coney as a liberating experience for those who attended, and an example of a new freedom that was occurring in the changing society.²⁰

The new freedom in mass culture was a topic of concern for people like social reformer Richard Henry Edwards who disdained the "carnival spirit of freedom and relaxation that frequently degenerated into one of license and gross immorality."²¹ Others found it a welcome tonic to the rigid Victorian strictures. Publicist Albert Bigelow Paine remarked delightedly that at Luna Park, "the atmosphere was such that even the most decorous New Yorker lost a bit of decorum."²² Richard Le Gallienne, writing for The Cosmopolitan in 1905, stressed the "human need for Coney Island." He stated that the people needed illusion, coarse entertainment, and escape in their lives. Coney provided all this.²³ Even though these commentators encouraged less restrained behavior at Coney Island, it was made clear that freedom should be limited to places of leisure. They differentiated between what was acceptable at work and what was acceptable at play. It was a small move away from the behavioral rigidity of the Victorians, but it was a move nevertheless. Weinstein, in his thesis "Nickel Empire," asserts that Coney helped "legitimize pleasure" for a nation that

previously saw only work as a wholesome form of activity.²⁴

Several historians see the period of time before World War I as a time when a battle of cultures was being waged--the Old Victorian Order versus the New Modern Order. In his book The Search for Order, 1877-1920, Robert Wiebe speaks of the prewar society as one "without a core." He contends that this empty core filled up with the new middle class with a new set of values. He calls the new middle class, the Class of Administration. Similarly, Warren I. Susman, in Culture as History calls the new middle class the New Organizational Order--the order where professional upwardly mobile young adults moved from a "Puritan-Republican culture" to a "culture of abundance." These "rival perceptions of the world" were reiterated by Maltby in Passing Parade, where he simply describes the battle between the two factions as producer society versus consumer society. Furthermore, Maltby insists that advertising had the leading role in helping to shift the values from the Victorian society to the more permissive Modern society. It was advertising, he claims, that promoted pleasure seeking. He sees advertisers as those members of the middle class that set standards of acceptability. Kathy Peiss recognizes the conflict between the old Victorian and newly emerging culture in her book Cheap Amusements and

adds that the working class experiences in leisure helped to shape the form of the middle class culture.²⁵

It is true that a newly emerging middle class became the new organizers and arbiters of popular culture. And, it is also true that advertising created a keener interest in popular culture. Certainly working-class enthusiasms influenced the new culture. But, in contrast to Wiebe's thesis, America was never "missing a core." Rather, America gave this illusion because it was more, accurately, "molting." Like a reptile between skins, America retained the heart and structure of the former body but added a new outer layer. To continue with the analogy, as with the snake, it took a period of time for the people of America to adjust to the added growth. The question of how to keep the same "Puritan-Republican" core that would accommodate new behavior became a continual struggle for Americans. Consequently, it would appear as if there had been a complete change, both inside and out, and that America had veered away from its Puritan roots. Yet, in the case of America, the new layer obscured the inside so that it no longer resembled its former self. In other words, behavior changed radically, but deeply embedded attitudes did not.

Nonetheless, Wiebe and Susman are correct in suggesting that the "new middle class" provided a way to impose order on a more populous, bureaucratic,

pluralistic and technically complex society. One way to control the amount and intensity of freer behavior was to restrict it by putting it in a definite place. Architecture conveniently defined the parameters within which the more modern and/or less self-conscious could exhibit their "wildness." As the century unfolded, the arenas for these liberating activities changed. During the pre-World War I period, such places as beach resorts, dance halls and amusement parks were among the most popular places of play. Therefore, they were the places built with the most exotic and elaborate eclectic styles, including Islamic Revival. Later the arenas changed.

With Coney at the forefront of the new era, and Luna Park as an architectural symbol of it, other amusement places borrowed Thompson's idea of emotional magnetism and built in the Islamic Revival style. Thompson himself designed the New York Hippodrome with an Islamic look. (He was certainly in keeping with the spirit of eclecticism when he chose the Greek word "Hippodrome" to accompany oriental architecture.) In 1892, in Mitchell, South Dakota, the city built a Corn Palace for use as a concert and dance hall and surfaced the concrete block structure entirely with corn (Fig. 3.4). The Corn Palace moved in 1905 and designers changed its appearance to an "Arabian Nights look," one that it retains today (Fig. 3.5 & 3.6).²⁶ An elaborate

FIGURE 3.4
CORN PALACE 1892

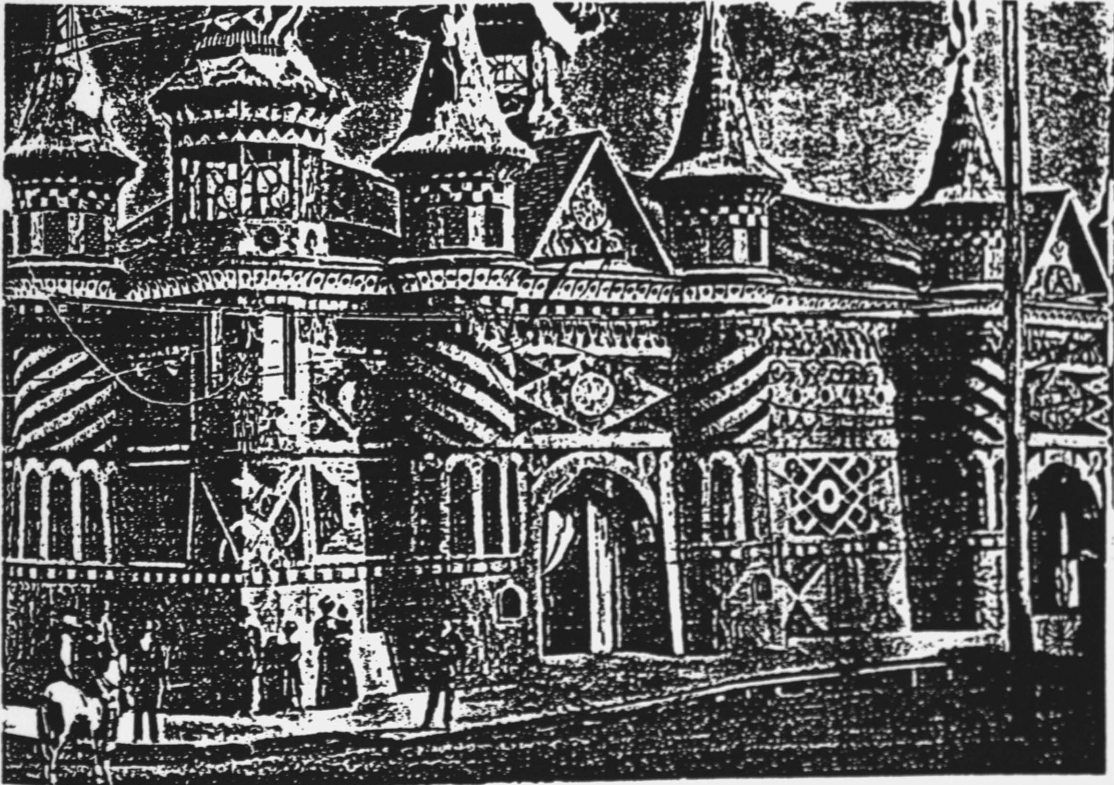


FIGURE 3.5
CORN PALACE 1905

FIGURE 3.6
CORN PALACE 1986



FIGURE 3.7
BATH HOUSE AT OCEAN PARK, CALIFORNIA

Bath House and Beach, Ocean Park, California.



bath house reminiscent of the Istanbul mosque, Hagia Sophia, was built in Ocean Park, California (Fig. 3.7). The early 1900s were a time when architects experimented with more modern styles, such as the Prairie Style, that used considerably less ornamentation than did previous designs.²⁷ Yet, a taste for the ornate still existed and the designers of places of entertainment used more grandiose and exotic designs than ever before.

Running concurrently with the popularity of amusement parks and resorts was another American phenomenon that was becoming ever more elaborate--the Ancient Arabic Order of the Nobles of the Mystic Shrine. Like many other fraternal societies, the Shrine had its roots in the Victorian Age, but it really boomed during the early years of the twentieth century. Unlike other fraternal organizations, however, the essential purpose of the Mystic Shrine was to have fun.²⁸ Mystic Shrine biographer, Illustrious Potentate Edward Evans comments that the Ancient Arabic Order of the Nobles of the Mystic Shrine is really "as American as apple pie."²⁹ It is and was an eclectic organization steeped in Christianity, but using symbols of Islam, costumes of the Middle East, and phrases borrowed from the Arabic language. Evans and other Shriners agree that Arabia is the land of magic and mystery that stirs the emotions more than any other

place. Fred Van Deventer concurs in his history of the Shrine, Parade to Glory. He says that one of the best descriptions of the Shrine comes from a past Imperial Potentate Dr. Hubert M. Poteat, a former professor at Wake Forest College who states that the magnificence of the costumes and regalia of the Islamic world allow these male Americans to live out boyhood fantasies (Fig. 3.8). "'Little boys play cops and robbers,'" he says, "'Shriners play Moslems and Infidels.'" Poteat declares firmly that the Shrine is open to all faiths. Yet, he discloses his Christian American heritage when, practically in the next sentence, he states his belief that Shriners are called upon to be "'apostles of good cheer.'"³⁰

The Moslem adornment mixed with Christian ideals apparently fascinated the founders of the Shrine, Billy Florence and Walter Fleming. In the late 1860s, Dr. Fleming gathered with other fellow masons each week at the Knickerbocker Cottage in New York City. Having just completed a high degree in the Scottish Rite, Dr. Fleming conceived of an organization that would serve as a "playground for Masons" in which both the Scottish Rite and York Rite high degreed masons would be eligible. He also thought that this new fellowship should be both awesome and entertaining.³¹ Fleming spoke of this idea to another regular attendee at the Knickerbocker Cottage, actor Billy Florence. According

FIGURE 3.8
SHRINERS IN REGALIA



FLORENCE, 1494
TO VAN DER WERF

to Van Deventer, it is not clear as to what role Florence played in the founding of the Shrine, other than to be an influential friend of Fleming's who had a famous name and a dynamic personality. Evans, on the other hand, credits Florence with being instrumental in giving the Shrine its Arabian motif. Florence traveled to France and England in 1870, he says, and while in Marseille, France, Florence attended a party given by an Arabian diplomat who inducted guests into a secret society. So impressed was Florence that upon his return to New York, he developed the name and ritual of the Shrine along with Fleming and another Knickerbocker patron, Charles T. McClenchen. A fourth Mason, William Sleigh Paterson, later to be the recorder of the first Temple, knew many languages, including Arabic, and was thus instrumental in creating the legend of the Mystic Shrine.³²

The Shrine caught on and grew rapidly, and soon the first temple, Mecca, opened in New York City in 1872. The writers of the Shrine and Murat histories suggest that the mystery and pageantry mixed with the "just for fun" idea excited the men who would be Shriners.³³ It did not take long for Indianapolis to develop its own Shrine chapter. The Murat Shrine Temple established a charter in 1884. The temple took its name from Marshall Murat, a general of Napoleon's during his Egyptian campaign. The shrine buildings of

the 1880s and 1890s were mostly modest structures, but the membership grew large enough (over 2,000) to require more space. The members purchased ground at the corner of Michigan and New Jersey streets in 1909. Oscar Bohlen, a respected local architect, designed the building that was to become the Murat Theatre and shrine offices. The theatre opened on February 28, 1910. Owned by the famous theatre family, the Schuberts, it became one of the leading live theatres in Indianapolis.³⁴

Bohlen wanted the theatre to resemble a mosque as much as possible. The outer walls consisted of alternating rows of tan and white brick. Terra cotta strapwork ornamented the pointed horseshoe windows and doors. A vaulted dome topped the northeast corner of the building and the most spectacular architectural feature, a large ornately designed minaret, crowned the southeast corner (Fig. 3.9).

Although the Murat Temple had an elaborate facade, Bohlen and associates did make a few concessions to modernity. The structure was fireproof and of steel and concrete.³⁵ The building did not employ the more curvilinear form of amusement park architecture or traditional Islamic style. Instead, Murat has a rectilinear look that is more in keeping with the Western world and developing modern styles.

In 1922, an addition fashioned by architects

FIGURE 3.9
MURAT SHRINE TEMPLE 1910

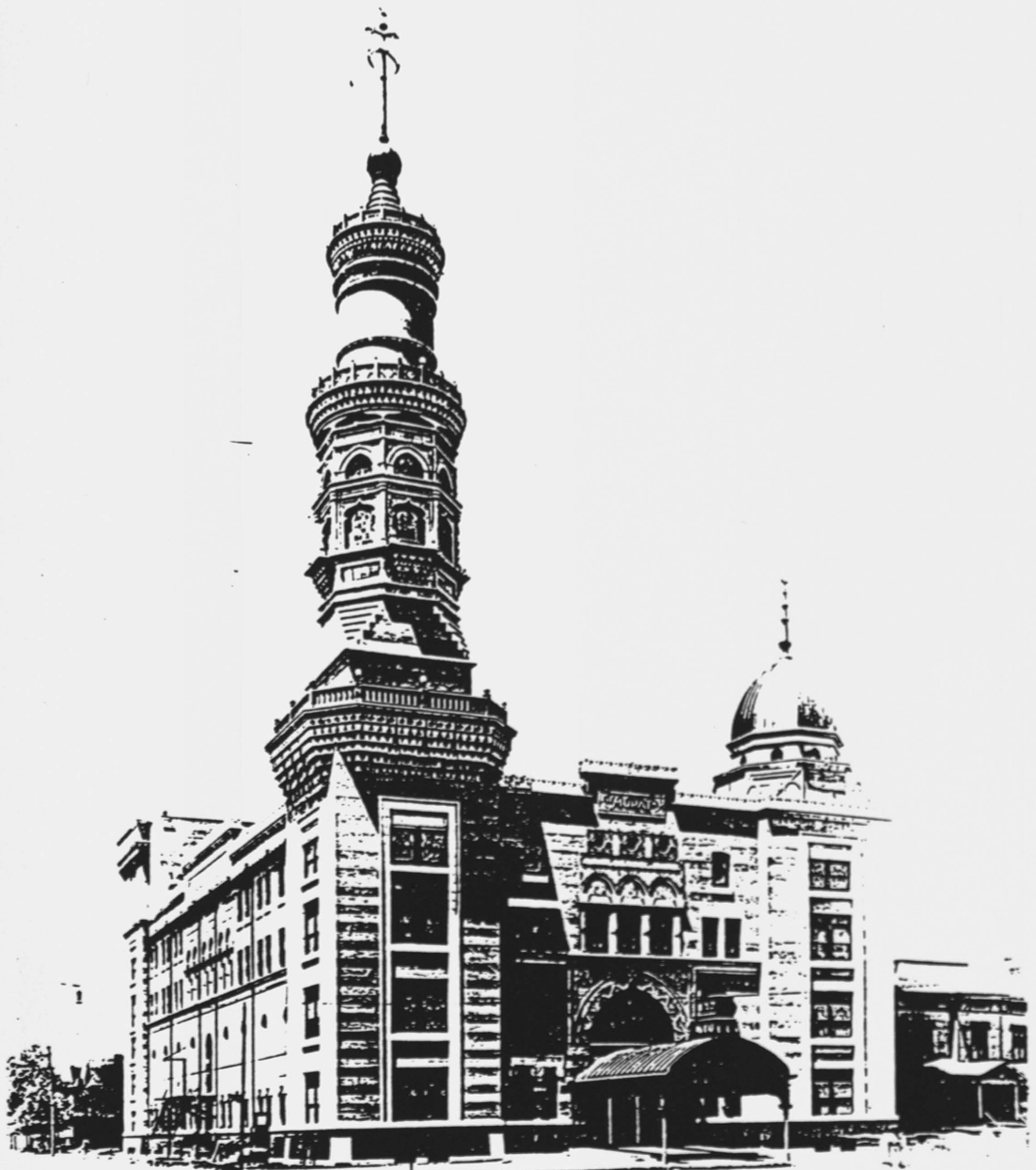


FIGURE 3.10
MURAT SHRINE TEMPLE 1928



Rubush and Hunter enlarged the temple. A banquet hall, social room and Egyptian Room ballroom increased the capacity for social activities.³⁶ The new addition closely resembled the theatre section. The brick was the same alternately colored rows of tan and white. Horseshoe ribbon windows above a horseshoe arched entrance highlighted the facade. A diminutive minaret and a shallow round dome complemented the rooftop at the northeast corner (Fig. 3.10). Today the Murat Temple is one of the few elegant Shrine temples remaining.

~~Place~~ Chicago is the home of another impressive temple. Shortly after the building of the Murat, the people of Chicago erected a Shrine temple of their own--Medinah Temple--in 1912. A reporter for the Chicago Tribune anticipated that the new temple would "surpass in beauty and size any other shrine in the country," cost \$500,000 and resemble a Turkish mosque.³⁷

~~and so~~ Built by Huehl and Schmid, local architects, the temple opened on October 31, 1912, and cost \$650,000. The Tribune, again dealing in superlatives, called the new temple the "finest Shrine temple in the world," and of "pure Arabic architecture."³⁸ The temple at the corner of Ohio and Wabash Streets did cost \$650,000, but resembled neither a Turkish mosque nor pure Arabic architecture and was not as imposing as the reporter led the reader to believe. Yet, Medinah was large

(covering one half city block), and Huehl and Schmid combined the prairie look with the Islamic features to create an interesting and impressive building (Fig. 3.11). The rectangular structure was made of reinforced concrete and steel.³⁹ The walls were unostentatious single colored brick. The Medinah Temple displayed horseshoe arched doorways and ribbon horseshoe and gothic windows (causing one recent writer to call the temple "moorish gothic").⁴⁰ Two bulbous mosaic domes atop gabled structures ornament the northeast and southeast corners of the building. Plastic appearing onion domes have replaced the originals (Fig. 3.12). With that exception, today the temple remains the same in appearance.⁴¹

The buildings and development of the Mystic Shrine are significant in two ways. First of all, the Shrine is the ultimate example of late nineteenth and early twentieth century eclecticism. It used the costumes and speech of the Orient, the spiritual guidance of Christian principles, and carried on revelry in adapted mosques. The Shrine is also the essence of orientalism. Shriners replaced the original sacred meaning of the ritual, costume and architecture, imbued by the religion of Islam with a secular frivolous connotation. Shriners spoke Arabic for effect, wore the red fez and crescent for adornment and used mosques as playgrounds for men whose purpose it was to be

FIGURE 3.11
MEDINAH TEMPLE 1913

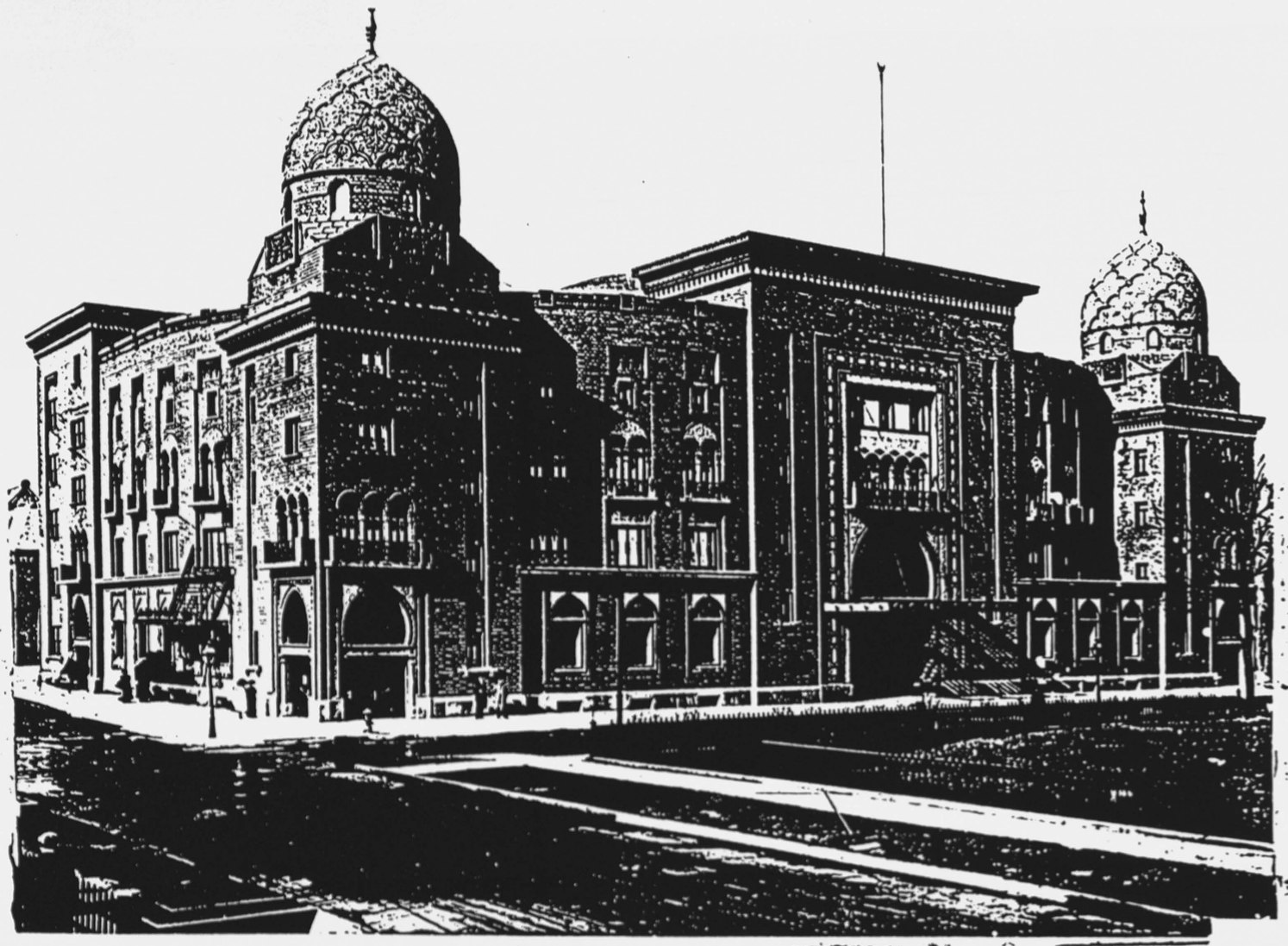


FIGURE 3.12
MEDINAH TEMPLE 1962



apostles of mirth.⁴² Moreover, the Shrine is woven like a connective ribbon throughout the period of Islamic Revival. As the architecture of leisure changed venues, the Mystic Shrine served as a reminder that the American values and attitude toward the Middle East and its architecture remained the same.

Towards the beginning of World War I, attitudes toward play started to change. The nation was moving toward leisure for leisure's sake that would characterize America throughout the rest of the century. Architects built elaborate buildings, including those of the Islamic Revival style, for different forms of entertainment. Millions still visited amusement parks and seaside resorts, but few new elaborate parks were being built in the style and grandeur of Coney's three parks. The public's reaction to Luna Park, in fact, serves as a microcosm of what was happening in the entertainment world in general. Patrons still flocked to the park, which remained extremely popular, but were impressed by different attractions. Audiences no longer thrilled to "A Trip to the Moon" or sat spellbound for historical recreations such as the "Battle of the Maine." Faster and more technologically complex rides replaced historic demonstrations and fantastic architecture. By 1918, the less innocent and more cynical audience demanded escape from the ordinary and a reprieve from

the destruction of the recent war. Escape came in the form of motion pictures and picture palaces.⁴³

1. William Morris, William Morris: A Life in Letters, ed. E. V. Rieu, (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1933).
 2. William Morris, William Morris: A Life in Letters, ed. E. V. Rieu, (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1933).
 3. William Morris, William Morris: A Life in Letters, ed. E. V. Rieu, (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1933).
 4. William Morris, William Morris: A Life in Letters, ed. E. V. Rieu, (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1933).
- William Morris was a leading figure in the English Arts and Crafts Movement. His work was characterized by a return to the simplicity and craftsmanship of the Middle Ages. His books were widely read and his designs were highly influential. The Shropshire and Gloucestershire were two of the areas where his influence was most felt. Glory by Morris was a book that provided a background for the organization of the Morris movement. Also, much of the cataloging of Morris' work was done by Morris. Also, a list of Morris' work was compiled by Edward J. Morris, (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1984-1987, 1977, 1984).
5. William Morris, William Morris: A Life in Letters, ed. E. V. Rieu, (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1933).
 6. William Morris, William Morris: A Life in Letters, ed. E. V. Rieu, (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1933).
 7. William Morris, William Morris: A Life in Letters, ed. E. V. Rieu, (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1933).
- History 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.
8. William Morris, William Morris: A Life in Letters, ed. E. V. Rieu, (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1933).
 9. William Morris, William Morris: A Life in Letters, ed. E. V. Rieu, (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1933).
 10. William Morris, William Morris: A Life in Letters, ed. E. V. Rieu, (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1933).
- p. 61.

CHAPTER 3 NOTES

1. Edwards, Immigration, p. 8.
2. Peiss, Cheap Amusements, p. 117.
3. Braden, Leisure and Entertainment, p. 12.
4. Fred Van Deventer, Parade to Glory (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1959), pp. 7-8. There is no satisfactory history of the Mystic Shrine. Only two books were located that gave any details on the origin of the Shrine. The most complete work is Parade to Glory by Fred Van Deventer. It does provide some background, but the focus is the Shrine as a charitable organization, and is therefore sketchy in other areas. Also, much like local histories, it becomes a cataloging of outstanding members and temple charters. Also, a synopsis of the Shrine history can be found in Edward M. Evans, Murat Temple: A Pictorial History, 1884-1977 (Indianapolis: R & R Publishing Co., Inc., 1977), [3-4].
5. Richard Snow, Coney Island: A Postcard Journey to the City of Fire (New York: Brightwaters Press, 1984), p. 11.
6. Frederick Thompson, "Amusing the Million," (September 1908): 382; Edward F. Tilyou, "Why the Schoolma'am Walked into the Sea," American Magazine (July 1922): 19.
7. Lucy P. Gillman, "Coney Island" New York History 36 (July 1955): 255-289. For brief histories of Coney Island consult William F. Mangels, The Outdoor Amusement Industry (New York: Vantage Press, Inc., 1952), pp. 37-50 and Al Griffin, "Step Right Up, Folks!" (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1974), pp. 1-14. The most thorough history of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Coney can be found in John F. Kasson, Amusing the Million (Toronto: Collins Publishers, 1978). Also an excellent history of this period can be viewed in the film, Coney Island (1991), produced by Ric Burns and Buddy Squires, written by Richard Snow.
8. Gillman, "Coney Island," p. 274-276.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., p. 276; Kasson, Amusing the Million, p. 61.

11. William F. Mangels, Outdoors Amusement Industry, pp. 42-43.

12. There is a bit disparity among writers on Coney's history about the cost of Luna Park. Mangels says \$800,000. Gillman states \$700,000, and Peter Lyon in "The Master Showman of Coney Island," American Heritage (June 1958): 92, comes in at close to \$1,000,000. Gillman's account, p.276. Thompson in "Amusing the Million" states the amount as \$600,000.

13. Oliver Pilat and Jo Ranson, Sodom by the Sea (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc., 1941), pp. 146-148.

14. Frederick Thompson, "Amusing the Million," p. 385. Also referenced in John Kasson, Amusing the Million, p. 63.

15. Pilat & Ranson, Sodom, p. 146.

16. Descriptions of Luna at night can be found in Thompson, Everybody's Magazine, p.378; Kasson, Amusing the Million, p.63; Pilat & Ranson, Sodom by the Sea, p. 147; and Gillman, "Coney Island," p. 277. See also Brooklyn Historical Society, Coney Island Photographic Collection, Folder - Luna Park.

17. Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 7 July 1936.

18. Kasson, Amusing the Million, p. 63.

19. Mangels, The Outdoor Amusement Industry, p. 42.

20. Stephen Weinstein, "The Nickel Empire: Coney Island and the Creation of Urban Seaside Resorts in the United States" (Ph.D. Thesis, Columbia University, 1984), pp. 29-30; Kasson, Amusing the Million, pp. 43-50; Peiss, Cheap Amusements, pp. 4-8. Coney Island as a place for liberating behavior mentioned in Tilyou, "The Schoolma'am," p. 19.

21. Richard Henry Edwards, Popular Amusements (New York: Association Press, 1915), p. 107.

22. Albert Bigelow Paine, "The New Coney Island," Century Magazine (August 1904): 533.

23. Richard Le Gallienne, "The Human Need for Coney Island," The Cosmopolitan 39 (July 1905): 239-247.

24. Weinstein, "The Nickel Empire," p. 29.

25. Robert H. Wiebe, The Search for Order (New York: Hill & Wang, 1967), p. vii; Warren I. Susman, Culture as History (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), Cheap Amusements, pp. xxii-xxxiii. Maltby, Passing Parade, p. 8; Peiss, pp. 115-116.
26. Opera Houses of the Midwest (Chicago: Mid-America Theatre Conference, 1988), p. 94. "Corn Palace, Mitchell, South Dakota," Lake County Museum, Curt Teich Postcard Archives, Lakewood Forest Preserve, Wauconda, Illinois.
27. McAlester and McAlester, American Houses, p. 438.
28. Van Deventer, Parade to Glory, p. 20. Evans, Murat Temple: A Pictorial History, [3].
29. Evans, Murat Temple: A Pictorial History, [3].
30. Evans, Murat Temple: A Pictorial History, [4]; Dr. Hubert M. Poteat, as quoted in Van Deventer, Parade to Glory, pp. 7-8.
31. Van Deventer, Parade to Glory, pp. 3-4, 23; Quotation in Evans, Murat Temple: A Pictorial History, [3].
32. Van Deventer, Parade to Glory, pp. 10, 15, 18-20; Evans, Murat Temple: A Pictorial History, [3].
33. Van Deventer, Parade to Glory, pp. 7-8, 20-24; Evans, Murat Temple: A Pictorial History, [4].
34. Max S. Norris, ed., Murat Temple, First 100 Years, 1884-1984 ([Indianapolis?]: Archie E. Cutshall and Kenneth E. Keene, [1984?]), pp. 21-26; Tom Mahorney, "History of Murat Temple," in Murat Temple: A Pictorial History by Edward Evans, [5]; Jacob Piatt Dunn, Greater Indianapolis (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1910), p. 472.
35. Dunn, Greater Indianapolis, p. 472.
36. Norris, Murat Temple, First 100 Years, pp. 33-34.
37. Chicago Tribune, 4 March 1911.
38. Chicago Tribune, 31 October 1912.

39. J. E. Murphy, "Eastern Architecture in the West: Medinah Temple," Architectural Record (January 1913): 339-343; Frank A. Randall, History of the Development of Building Construction (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1949), p. 242.

40. Chicago Tribune, 29 March 1989.

41. Ibid.

42. Evans, Murat Temple: A Pictorial History, [3-4]; Van Deventer, Parade to Glory, pp. 8-9, 18-19; Norris, Murat Temple, First 100 Years, pp. 13-14.

43. Pilat & Ranson, Sodom by the Sea, p. 157.

CHAPTER 4

THE TWENTIES AND THE MOVIE PALACE, 1918-1929

In the post World War I era, Americans finally began to break away from the Victorian values so embedded in their collective conscience. The values of self-control and self-denial advocated by Gaskell in Happy Homes did not impress the audience of the 1920s, who still remembered their sacrifices during the war and so sought self-indulgence and instant gratification. And gratify themselves they did. The new consumers wasted no time in purchasing the most prestigious objects of the day, phonographs, radios and, of course, automobiles.¹

America became enamored with the automobile because of the freedom the vehicle afforded the individual. Now an automobile owner could go much farther much faster. The affordability and accessibility of Henry Ford's Model T caused auto sales to soar during the twenties, and soon most middle-class American families owned a car. Now, one could motor to the country or drive to the seashore for an afternoon away from the hustle and bustle of everyday life. The automobile also radically altered the dating habits of American youth. Couples spent time alone in automobiles away from the concerned and critical eyes of their parents.²

The decade of the twenties was all about flouting

convention, rebelling against the remnant generation of aged Victorians, and finding new freedom. The eighteenth amendment to the Constitution banning the sale, manufacture and transport of liquor, better known as Prohibition, resulted in people exploring new ways to obtain alcohol. White middle class "respectable" New Yorkers flocked to speakeasies in Harlem to drink booze, dance the Charleston, and listen to hot Jazz music. Wild fads like flagpole sitting and marathon dancing captivated large audiences. Airplanes and air travel, climaxing in 1927 with Charles Lindbergh's transAtlantic flight, thrilled millions of Americans during the twenties.³

Ironically, while the white middle class exploited their new found liberties, they reacted very strongly to permitting liberties for those they considered non-American. Freedom in the 1920s was to be experienced by WASP Americans. Underneath the outward appearance of liberality during the twenties, lurked the heart and soul of Victorian elitism. The superior attitude toward foreigners, Blacks and workers had always been there--it simply found a stronger expression in the twenties. Henry May, in The End of American Innocence, states that World War I not only resulted in a new American cynicism but also left a bitter legacy of hatred.⁴

The hatred manifested itself in several ways.

The floodtide of immigration that characterized the last few decades slowed considerably, and, after the quota law of 1924 further restricted immigration, the stream narrowed to a trickle. The new law (to take effect fully in 1927) primarily restricted peoples from eastern and southern Europe. The Ku Klux Klan reorganized in 1915, under the leadership of ex-minister William J. Simmons and discovered a new voice and a receptive audience. Espousing Christian fundamentalism, the Klan preached against Catholics, Jews, Blacks and anyone who was not a WASP. Labor also suffered from the attitude of hate. Brooks writes in Toil and Trouble that after successfully smashing a steel strike in 1919 union-busting activities reached a crescendo during the next four years. Many employers warned that unions were unAmerican and "Red." An open shop, they stated, encouraged a capitalist spirit that was the essence of America.⁵

Surprisingly, as pleasure seeking in America reached an all time high, there was one form of entertainment that satisfied the dreams, desires and fantasies of middle class whites, workers, Blacks and the foreign-born alike--motion pictures. Movies became the most popular form of entertainment of the decade. It is easy to see their appeal, when for a small admission fee (usually a dime) a customer could be transported to exciting places, be romanced or simply

laugh and forget everyday concerns. But the film was only part of the movie-going experience. In the 1920s, movies became housed in elaborate picture palaces. It seemed appropriately American, Susman says in Culture as History, that savvy entrepreneurs offered the new technology in elegant settings.⁶

The combination of movie and palace proved irresistible to the general public. Unlike other structures of such grandeur, theatre owners made palaces available to all. One such owner William Fox emphasized the egalitarianism of the picture palace.

Movies breathe in the spirit in which the country was founded, freedom and equality. In the motion picture theatres there are no separation of classes... the rich rub elbows with the poor and that's the way it should be. The motion picture is a distinctly American institution.⁷

The movie theatres were not as egalitarian as Fox might have wished. African-Americans were frequently forced to sit in the balcony in order to have the opportunity to attend a "palace" and enjoy the motion picture experience.

The architecture of the movie palace, with its ornate eclecticism, caused architects of the period to cringe. Patterned after European grand opera palaces, vaudeville theatres and wealthy estates, theatre architects combined such styles as Italian Mediterranean with Spanish and Renaissance detail or Chinese with Classical detail. Because they believed

movies went beyond the bounds of good taste, both in architecture and art form, the cultural elite put the motion picture in the dime novel category of entertainment--the category of lowbrow culture. Echoing the sentiment of the cultured, Charles Horton Cooley, period philosopher, decried the fact that motion pictures stimulated the emotions and overexcited the citizenry. However, emotional excitement was precisely what theatre owners wanted to arouse in their customers, and so they chose styles they believed would engender emotion. Just such a style was, of course, Islamic Revival.⁸

Islamic Revival was ideal for movie palaces because of its past associations with the sensual, exotic, emotional and opulent. The association with the sensual, coupled with two major events of the 1920s, gave the Islamic Revival style new impetus. In 1922, Howard Carter discovered the tomb of King Tutankhamen in the Valley of the Kings in Egypt. Subsequently, a tremendous interest in things Egyptian and Arabian developed. The other event that added to the mystique of Islamic Revival was the death of movie star Rudolph Valentino in 1926. Valentino's portrayals of "The Sheik" (1921) and "Son of Sheik" (1926) brought him immense popularity, and he was perceived by the movie audience as one of the most romantic screen figures of his day. His early demise, and its

attendant publicity, caused a Middle East craze, because the public linked that region of the world, through Valentino, to romance and excitement.⁹

John Eberson, theatre architect, designed his masterpiece, the Avalon theatre in Chicago, in the Islamic Revival style, mostly because of his own romantic associations with the Near East. While on a trip to New Orleans, he discovered an incense burner in an antique store that reminded him of Aladdin's lamp. He then decided to design and fashion a theatre in the Arabian Nights motif so that patrons would be able to bathe in the sensual and romantic atmosphere of the Orient. Eberson's specialty was, in fact, the "atmospheric" theatre. The idea behind the atmospheric theatre was to create a "soft and pleasing atmosphere for patrons against the hardness of interiors entirely ornamented in plaster, marble and gilt." Eberson's designs included an Italian Garden, a Spanish Patio and a Persian Courtyard. The Persian Courtyard he created was the interior of the Avalon Theatre.¹⁰

The Avalon on South 79th Street and Stoney Island Avenue was considered by Eberson and his son, also a theatre architect, to be his greatest achievement.¹¹ Restored in 1989 as The New Regal Theatre, it remains largely intact. The facade of the Avalon (New Regal) at the northwest corner is the most elaborate section of the building. Above the marquee is a blue-green

mosaic work with patterned pilasters topped by a mosaic crest (Fig. 4.1). Two minarets, one very small, set off the doorway on either side. The walls of the theatre are tan brick; five gothic arches are patterned into the brickwork, with geometric designs within each arch (Fig. 4.2). At the northwest corner of the building on the roof is an elaborate mosaic bulbous dome (Fig. 4.3 and Fig 4.4). The Avalon does not exhibit the rectangular shape of the Shrine Temples, but rather it is shaped asymmetrically, which gives the building a more palatial effect.

Fewer and fewer picture palaces were built after 1925. The reasons were twofold. The first was a by-product of the Paris Exposition of Les Arts Decoratifs in 1925. The Exposition introduced the world to the new style of Art Deco, and it became an extremely popular style throughout the remainder of the twenties and thirties. Architects wasted no time trying out the new designs on the theatre-going populace, and discovered that the Art Deco theatres were also much cheaper to build, which brings up the second reason for the decline in the construction of movie palaces. They were becoming increasingly too expensive. The cost of the construction, labor and artisans to make the ironwork, gilt and plaster molds, contributed to theatre owners' reluctance to build new palaces.¹² The Great Depression finished off the

FIGURE 4.1
AVALON/NEW REGAL THEATRE
ENTRANCE

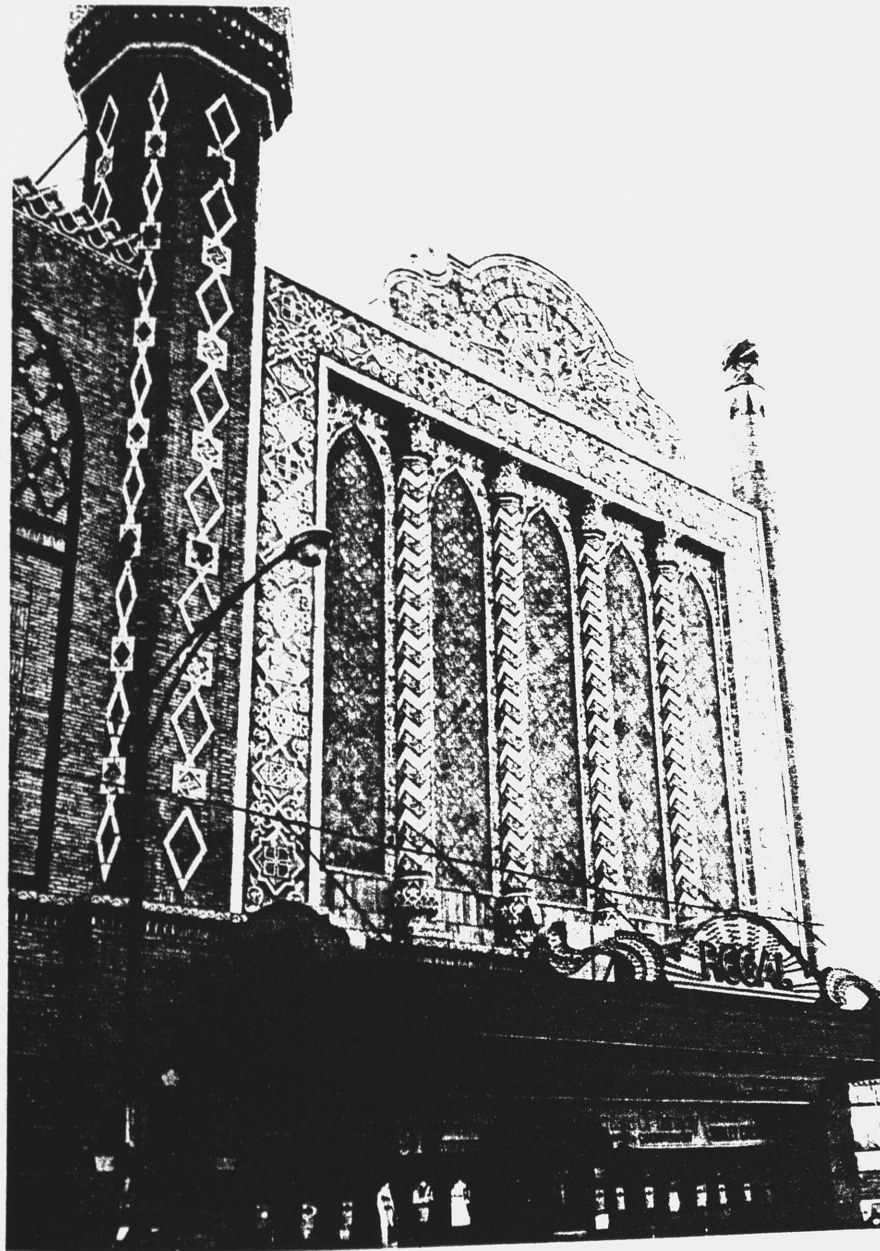


FIGURE 4.2
AVALON/NEW REGAL THEATRE
ARCHES AND MINARETS

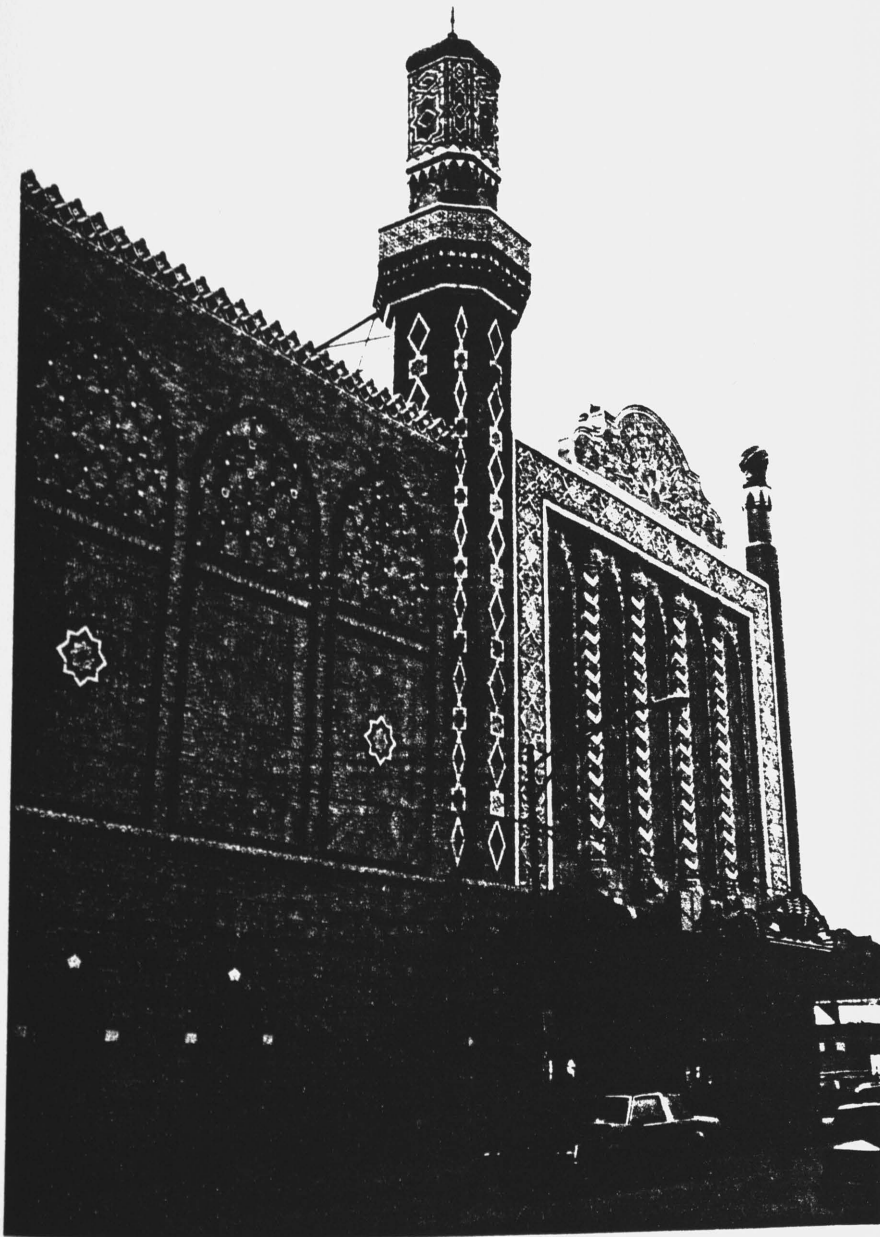


FIGURE 4.3
AVALON/NEW REGAL THEATRE
FACADE

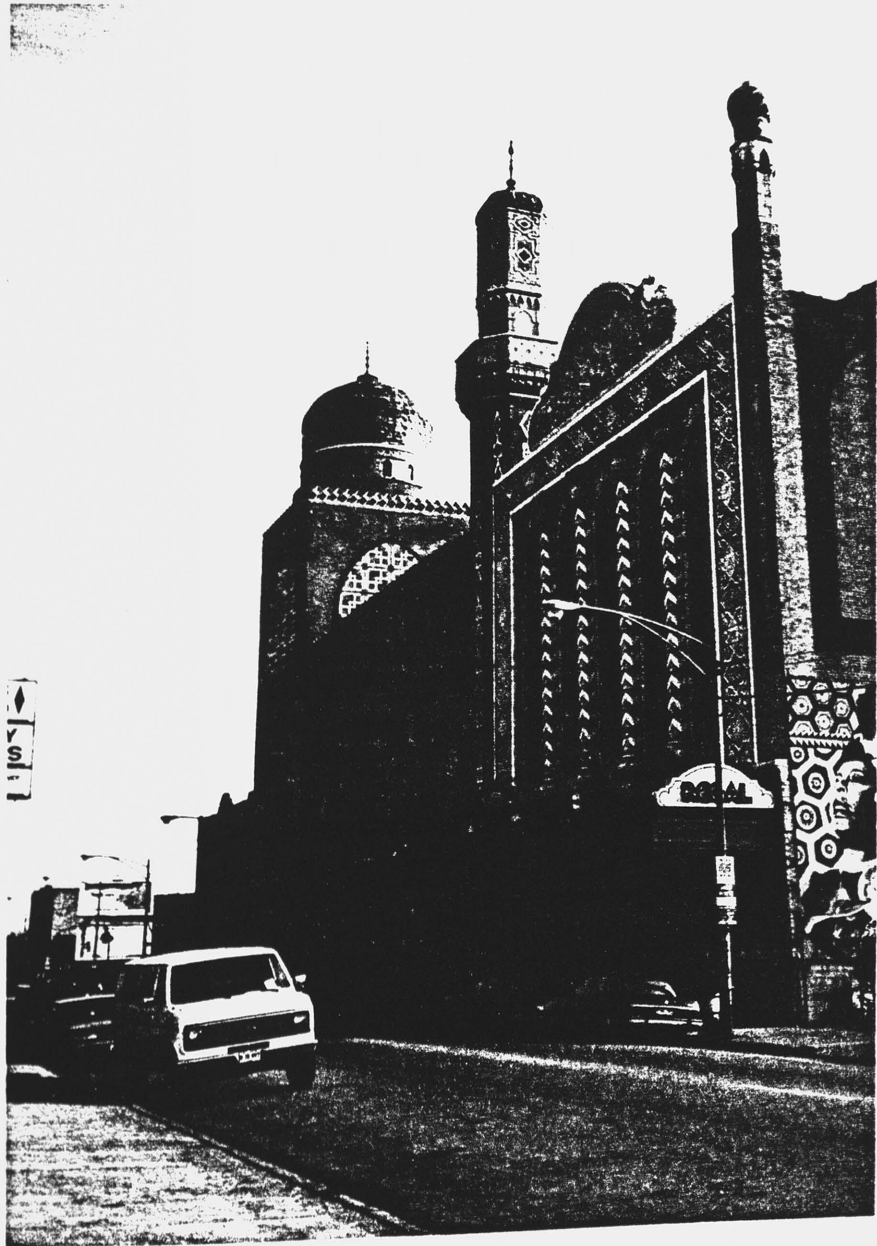


FIGURE 4.4
AVALON/NEW REGAL THEATRE
BULBOUS DOME

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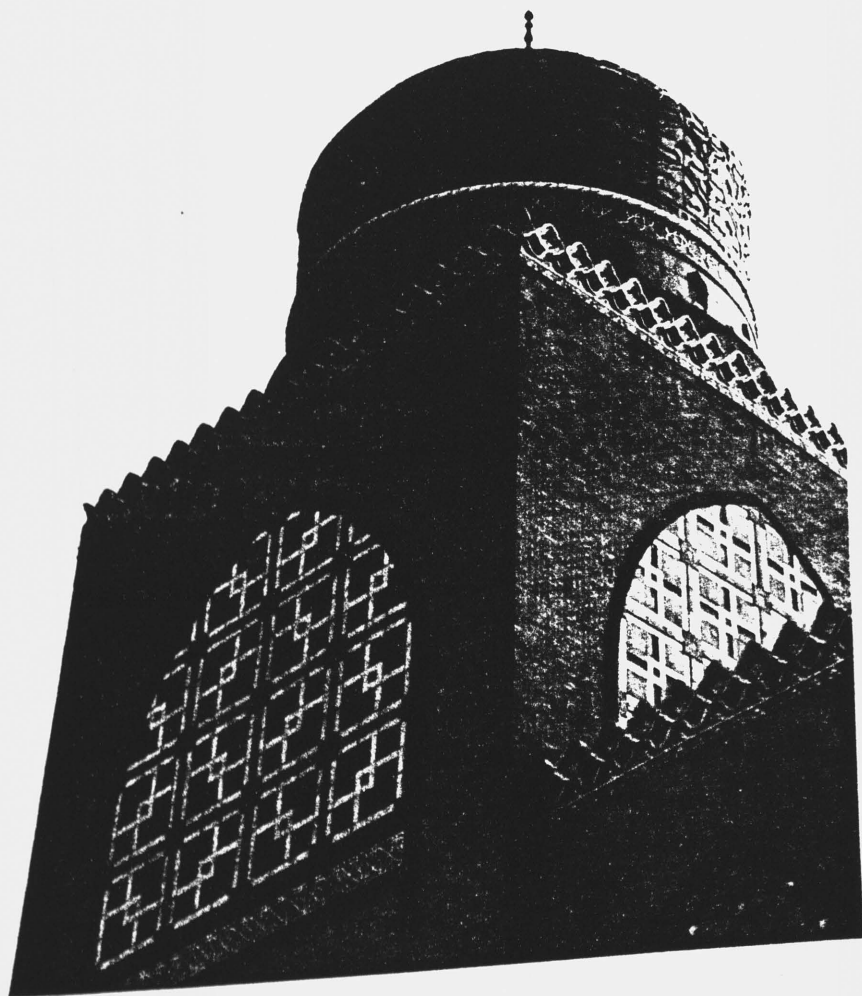
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palaces for good. There was, however, a last gasp of the old ornate style with the building of the Fox Theatre in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1929.

Originally designed as the Yaareb Shrine Temple, architects Mayre, Alger and Vinour intended the building to "out-Baghdad Baghdad."¹³ Early-on the Shriners ran out of money, and William Fox then leased the auditorium from them. The Shriners moved permanently in 1939 and the building remained a theatre. The final cost of the Atlanta Fox was three million dollars.¹⁴ It opened on December 25, 1929, rising majestically from Peachtree and Ponce de Leon streets. Lida Davis Jones, writing in the Atlanta Journal, waxed poetic about the Fox. She called it a "rhapsody in stone," "a poem in marble." She also suggested to those who had never visited the Orient that they need simply to walk down Peachtree Street to experience it.¹⁵

Not representative of the Orient, the Atlanta Fox Theatre is nevertheless an imposing structure. It covers an entire city block and is seven stories high, which further adds to its impressiveness (Fig. 4.5). The masonry may appear to be stone or marble, but it is actually alternating ribbons of cream and buff brick. The facade doorway is a pointed horseshoe, and the windows are paired and ribboned pointed horseshoes. The roof supports an onion dome and the requisite

FIGURE 4.5
ATLANTA FOX THEATRE

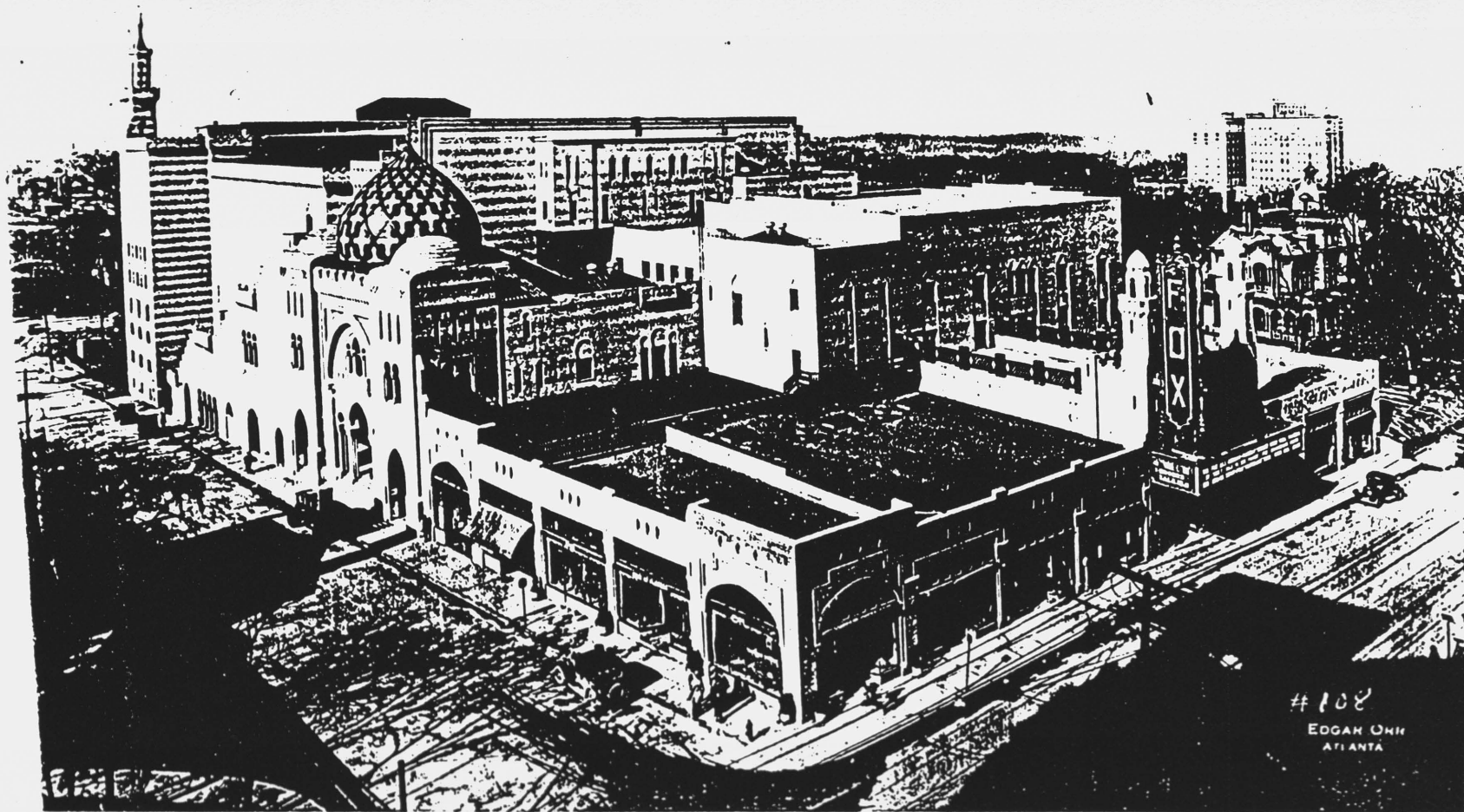


FIGURE 4.6
ATLANTA FOX THEATRE
FACADE

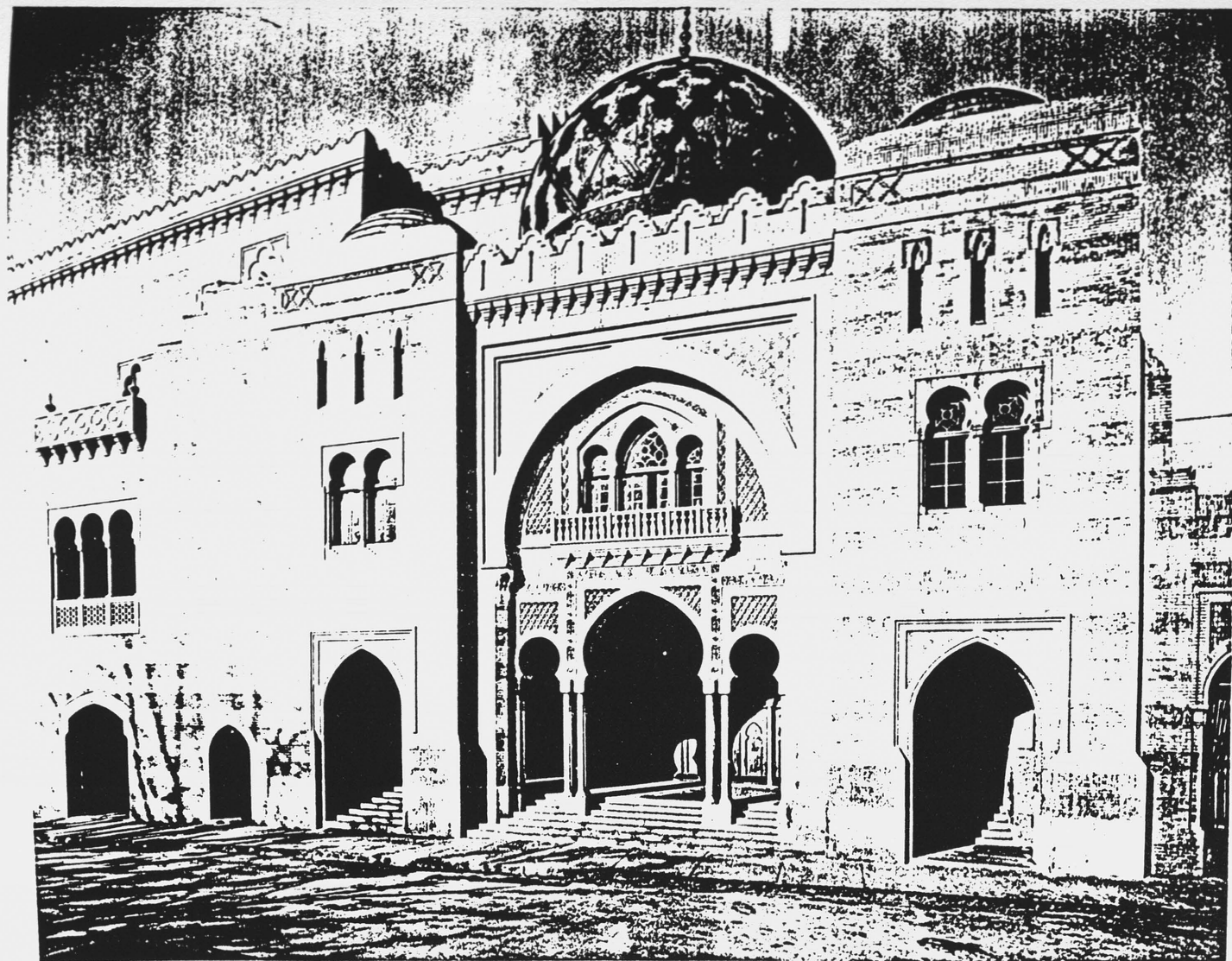
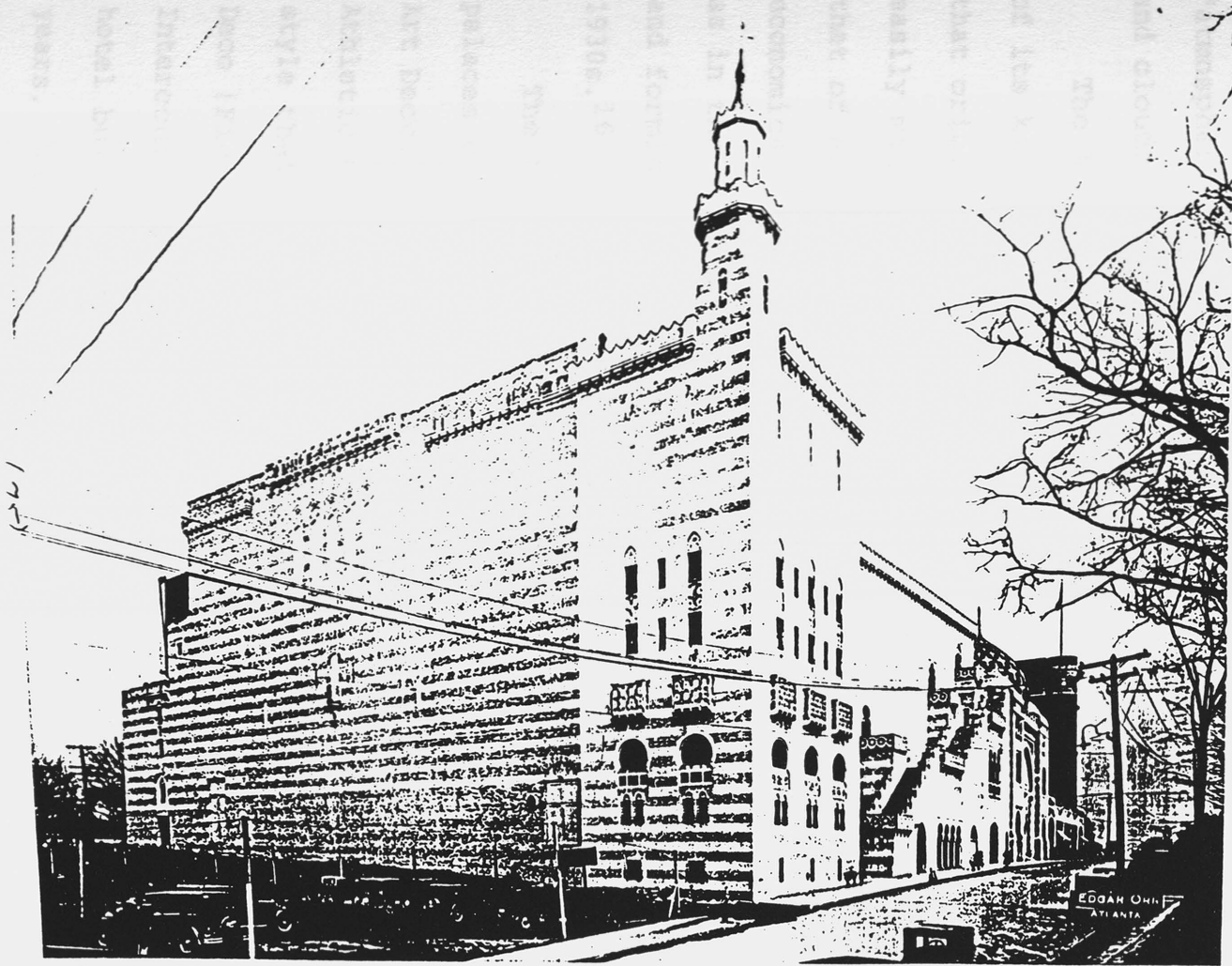


FIGURE 4.7
ATLANTA FOX THEATRE
FIRE ESCAPE



minarets (Fig. 4.6). A special feature of the Fox is the ornate fire escape on the south side (Fig. 4.7). In the tradition of Eberson, the interior of the Fox is "atmospheric." The ceiling displays glittering stars and clouds.

The Atlanta Fox was certainly one of the last of its kind. Had it not been for the Mystic Shrine that originally commissioned the building, the theatre easily might have had a much more modern look, like that of Art Deco. The new Art Deco theatres were more economical to build and experiments in lighting as well as in the introduction of new materials such as chrome and formica captivated the movie audiences of the 1930s.¹⁶

The transition between the elaborate and gaudy palaces of the twenties and the simpler, streamlined Art Deco, is expressed architecturally by the Medinah Athletic Club of Chicago, Illinois. Built in a unique style that can most accurately be described as Islamic Deco (Fig. 4.8), the Medinah (currently the Hotel Intercontinental) had the distinction of being the last hotel building erected in the city for thirty-five years. Walter Ahlslager, of Holabird and Root architectural firm and Frank Randall, structural engineer, built the forty-five story steel-framed skyscraper on rock caissons, used the vertical lines and ornament of Art Deco and added the stylized dome,

FIGURE 4.8
MEDINAH ATHLETIC CLUB

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minaret and pointed horseshoe window treatment to give it a hint of Islamic Revival.¹⁷

Americans were jolted out of their self-indulgent ways by the Great Depression of the thirties. The time period called for more frugality and austerity in all matters, including design. The ornate facades and fantastic ornament of Islamic Revival did not fit in with the chrome and formica of the sleek modern buildings. Theatre owners had neither the money nor the desire to spend it on the elaborate palaces of the previous decade. Islamic Revival disappeared from the scene for a while, but was to reappear during post World War II prosperity in a different form in a different venue.

CHAPTER 4 NOTES

1. Gaskell, Happy Homes, pp. 472-481. Maltby, Passing Parade, pp. 59-65.
2. Maltby, Passing Parade, p. 27, 92; Braden, Leisure and Entertainment, pp. 174, 323.
3. Maltby, pp. 68-76.
4. Henry F. May, The End of American Innocence (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1959), pp. 387-9; Stanley Coben, Rebellion Against Victorianism: The Impetus for Cultural Change in the 1920s (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 27-31.
5. May, End of American Innocence, pp. 393-394; Information on quota law cited in Roger Daniels, Coming to America, pp. 265, 282. Information on the Klan found in Coben, pp. 136-141; Date and founding of the new Klan in David M. Chalmers, Hooded Americanism (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1965), pp. 28-29. Labor history in Brooks, Toil and Trouble, p. 145.
6. Braden, Leisure and Entertainment, pp. 185, 323; Maltby, Passing Parade, pp. 81-87; Warren I. Susman, Culture as History (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), p. 108.
7. William Fox, as quoted in Maltby, Passing Parade, p. 85.
8. Maltby, Passing Parade, p. 81; Drew Eberson, "Defining Art Deco," Art Deco News, Winter 1984, p. 2. Drew Eberson, a theatre architect and son of John Eberson, an architect of elaborate movie palaces, gives a brief synopsis of theatre architecture in the above magazine.
9. Phillips, "Arab in Architecture"; Bernard Grun, Timetables of History (New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1975), p. 480; Norris, Murat Temple, the First 100 Years, p.34; David Naylor, Picture Palaces: The Architecture of Fantasy (New York: Prentice Hall Press, 1981) p. 83; James Vinson, ed., International Dictionary of Films and Filmmakers: Vol. III Actors and Actresses (Chicago: St. James Press, 1986), p. 627. Maltby, Passing Parade, p. 82.

10. Frank Cronican, "From an Incense Burner," Marquee, Journal of Theatrical Historical Society (June-August 1970), p. 2; See also Eberson, "Defining Art Deco," p. 2, for other atmospheric theatre concepts.
11. John Eberson, "New Theatres for Old," Chicago Tribune, 14 June 1928.
12. Ibid.
13. Drew Eberson, "Defining Art Deco," p. 15.
14. Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, The City Builder, December 1929, p. 23.
15. Lida Davis Jones, "The Atlanta Shrine Mosque, A "Rhapsody in Stone," Atlanta Journal, 24 December 1929.
16. Eberson, "Defining Art Deco," p. 15.
17. William B. Condit, Building, Planning and Urban Technology (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), p. 129, note 172; 157.

CONCLUSION

The study of Islamic Revival Architecture in leisure America is the study of a constant viewed against a background of variables. The constant is middle America's view of the Other, in this case the "Orient," and the variables are the dramatic societal changes that occurred during the years 1871-1929. America shifted from a predominantly rural to a predominantly urban society. Acceleration characterized the period as the nation moved from horse and buggy to interurban to automobile, and faster forms of communication like the telephone and radio united not only the country but also the world.¹

The nation became steadily more culturally democratized. In the late nineteenth century, in the interest of elevation of the human spirit, Victorian, white middle-class cultural refiners espoused self-control and self-denial in all aspects of life. By the 1920s, in the interest of personal prosperity, the casual, more permissive, masses advocated self-gratification in all aspects of life. Leisure was a major part of this life. The consumer culture of the twentieth century replaced the producer culture of the nineteenth and more people had more money to spend and more leisure time during which to spend it. ²

The ethnic make-up of America changed as well, from largely homogeneous to the extremely pluralistic

society, as a result of mass immigration at the turn of the century.³ Because of the ethnic and racial diversity of the United States, assimilation became very important to middle class Americans. Assimilation was their attempt to control and homogenize the country. The more diverse the nation became, the greater the desire for xenophobic native-born Americans to make something uniquely American out of foreign people and things, retaining just a hint of the foreign to suggest a pride in diversity. Islamic Revival grew out of the desire of middle class Americans to "Americanize" Islam.⁴

Influenced by the tales of the Arabian Nights and the Western European fascination with the Orient, the United States connected the Near East to magic lamps, ancient kings and dancing girls. The Orient was the place of fantasies.⁵ Despite the progress in technology, a growing consumer culture and democratic, accessible leisure, the Orient remained, in the minds of middle-class Americans, linked to the exotic and erotic. Islamic Revival architecture was a physical manifestation of the widely held American views of the Orient. Because of its association with fantasy and excitement, Islamic Revival became a natural selection when entrepreneurs and architects wanted to entice patrons to their leisure playgrounds.

Prior to 1893, few places used the Islamic Revival

(Moorish) style. An occasional home, especially of the wealthy and ostentatious, such as P. T. Barnum or Cornelius Vanderbilt, employed elements of Islamic Revival, or had a room done in a Persian motif to indicate the owner's exorbitant wealth.⁶

The World's Columbian Exhibition of 1893 introduced mass audiences to the Near East for the first time. The Street in Cairo, Moorish Palace, and Turkish Bazaar of the the Midway Plaisance fascinated thousands as they experienced an Egyptian wedding, camel rides, elaborate mosques and the daring danse du ventre.⁷ At the Fair, the businessmen and cultural elite discovered that one could successfully segregate behaviors by style of architecture. The elegant European and American architecture of the White City became associated with more intellectual and more culturally significant pursuits. A certain amount of decorum reigned in the White City. The less serious architecture of the Midway Plaisance, of which Islamic Revival was a part, in turn became identified with a carnival atmosphere. Islamic Revival was used to separate serious behavior from frivolous behavior during the course of the twentieth century. Naturally, not all places of play used Islamic Revival architecture. However, unlike other revival architecture of the Eclectic Movement that was so popular in commercial buildings and residences at the

turn of the century, the use of Islamic Revival indicated almost exclusively amusement settings.

Even the most conservative element of society, the middle-management businessman, used Islamic Revival architecture as a setting in which he could exhibit less formal behavior than usually expected of him. Masons erected "mosques" in which they could rid themselves of their starched white collars, don the oriental regalia of the Shriners and make merry.⁸

After the Chicago Exposition, those who wanted to attract large numbers of pleasure seekers often used Islamic Revival as a drawing card. Experienced in the field of architecture, Frederic Thompson designed Luna Park at Coney Island, New York, with the Islamic "look" in order to create an atmosphere of emotional excitement. He believed Oriental architecture to be the perfect choice for attracting an audience seeking amusement, and the success of Luna Park substantiates his belief.⁹ But whether Luna Park at Coney Island or the Corn Palace in South Dakota or a band pavilion in St. Louis, people responded to the "look" of the Orient. Islamic Revival promised patrons a more carefree, happier, more exciting atmosphere. Essentially any place one found leisure, whether it be dance halls, band pavilions or bath houses, one found Islamic Revival.

But no amusement place could be more suited to the

application of Islamic Revival than the movie palace. Motion pictures, the ultimate fantasy experience, needed elaborate and exotic houses in which to transport customers to make-believe worlds. Believing Marcus Loew's admonition that they sold tickets to theatres, not movies, theatre owners endeavored to have architects build some of the most elaborate and ornate structures in the country.¹⁰ Islamic Revival, with its look of opulence, made an ideal choice for movie palace style. Chicago's Avalon/New Regal Theatre and Atlanta's Fox Theatre are particularly fine examples of the movie palaces of the 1920s. The prohibitive costs, and a preference for a more modern style, brought an end to the Islamic Revival movie palaces after the 1920s.¹¹ Yet, Islamic Revival architecture continued to be associated with opulence and decadence, and, from the twenties on, reappeared in all aspects of amusement architecture.

Architecture serves as a metaphor for the underlying values of a culture. In architecture, the Islamic Revival style never developed a value other than as a vehicle of enticement--a strong drawing card at the Columbian Exhibition, a popular park at Coney, the architecture of great movie palaces. So strong is this application of Islamic Revival that it is still used in places of play. The venues change but the

concept does not. Why else would one build a Taj Mahal
casino in Atlantic City, New Jersey?

CONCLUSION NOTES

1. Schwartz, Century's End, pp. 167-8; Braden, Leisure and Entertainment, pp. 9-12; Maltby, Passing Parade, p. 8.
2. May, End of American Innocence, p. 394; Gaskell, Happy Homes, pp. 472-481; Maltby, p. 8.
3. Braden, p. 13.
4. Said, Orientalism, p. 3; Braden, p. 13.
5. Said, p. 1.
6. McAlester and McAlester, American Houses, p. 231; Joe Friedman, Inside New York (Phaidon Press Limited, 1992), p. 32.
7. Portfolio of Photographs of Fair, pp. 1-5; The Dream City: A Portfolio of Photographic Views of the World's Columbian Exposition, introduction by Professor Halsey C. Ives (Chicago: N. D. Thompson Publishing, 1893), p. 145.
8. Van Devanter, Parade to Glory, pp. 7-8, 20; Evans, Murat Temple: A Pictorial History, [3].
9. Thompson, "Amusing the Million," p. 385.
10. Naylor, Picture Palaces, p. 11.
11. Eberson, "Defining Art Deco," p. 15.

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Educational Background

1993 M.A. in History, Indiana University-Purdue
University at Indianapolis, Indianapolis, Indiana

1973 B.A. in History, Indiana University,
Bloomington, Indiana

Other Education

Currently working toward a Bachelor's Degree in German,
with a minor in French.

Course study in Interior Design at Butler University,
Indianapolis, Indiana.

Completed requirements for Certification in Teaching at
Indiana University.

Work Experience

1992-present Travel Consultant, American Automobile
1988-1990 Association, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Assist in most aspects of travel. Have
arranged and conducted presentations for
groups.

1991-present Self-employed with consulting service,
primarily doing historic research and
investigations.

1988 Historic Building Surveyor, Historic
Landmarks Foundation of Indiana,
Indianapolis Regional Office.

1987-1988 Internship with Historic Landmarks
Foundation of Indiana, Indianapolis
Regional Office. Surveyed historic
buildings and wrote National Register
Nomination.

Other Work Experience

Includes sales, both inside and outside, restaurant management, and secretarial work.

Creative Products

Thesis

Martin, Katherine A., "Decadent Amusements: Islamic Revival Architecture in American Leisure Places, 1871-1929." Unpublished master's thesis, Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Other Creative Products

National Register Nomination, University Park, Indianapolis, Indiana. Currently listed on National Register of Historic Places.

Article on Maoma Ridings murder case, influence by work with John Gilmore, work in progress.

"A Pagoda and the Internal Combustion Engine", article in progress.

Professional Organizations

Organization of American Historians
Urban History Association
National Council on Public History
Society of Architectural Historians